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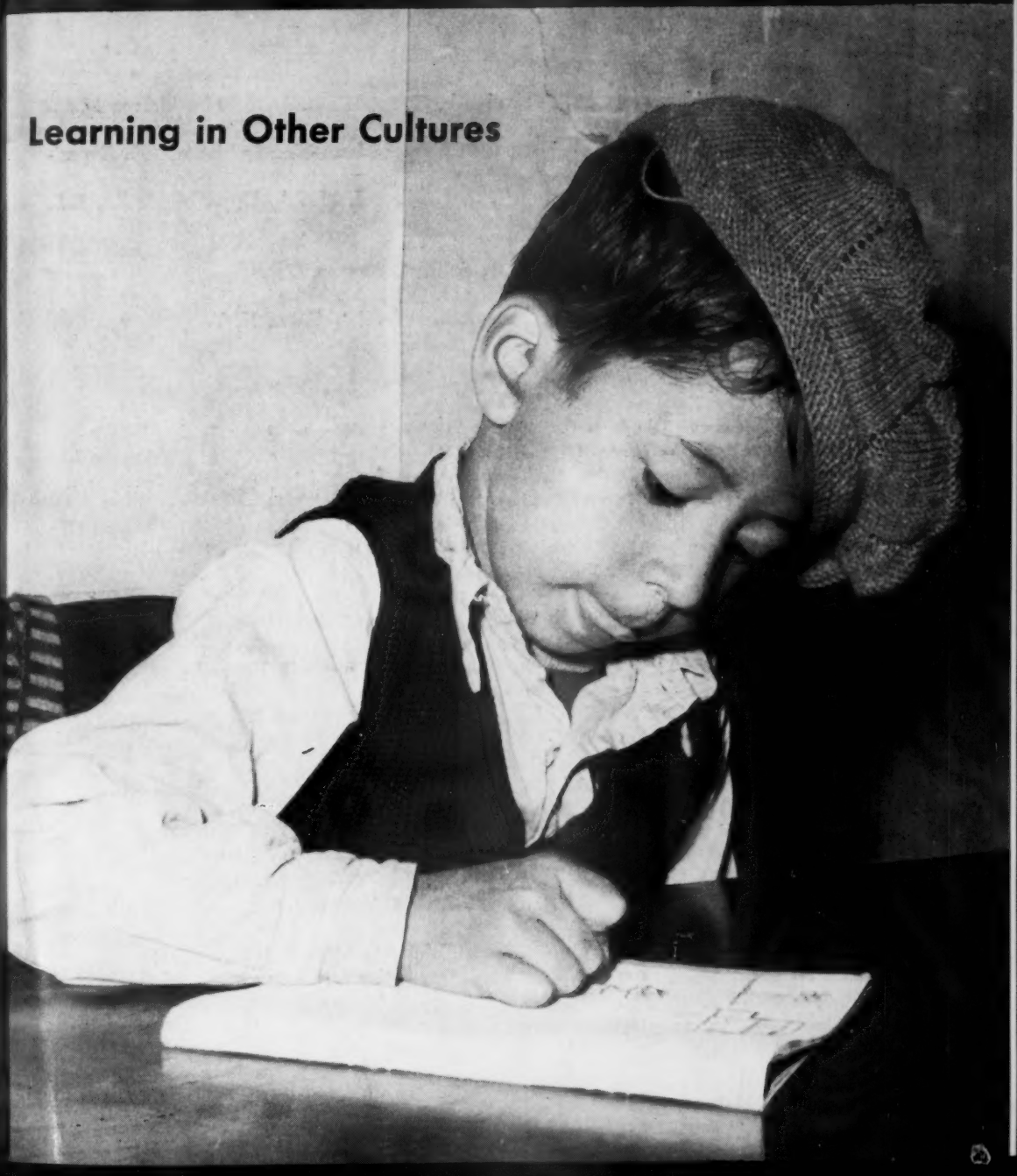
JOURNAL of the ASSOCIATION for SUPERVISION and CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, NEA

Learning in Other Cultures



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GEORGE D. SPINDLER

Learning in Culture: Anthropological Perspective

Skill in cultural analysis makes possible the identification of significant cultural influences on the conditions of learning. Such identification should aid in predicting consequences for various courses of educational action.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS cannot be said to have a theory of learning of their own. They borrow and apply concepts from behavioristic approaches in psychology, from theories of learning, from social psychology, and particularly from psychoanalysis.[1] This has made anthropological perspectives on learning somewhat less than systematic, but it has kept them flexible.

Until the influence of Edward Sapir, then Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, was felt in anthropology during the 'thirties, anthropologists were almost exclusively concerned with the patterned *results* of learning; the kinds of houses built, the customs about clothing, the adult use of language, and so forth, and including the patterning of ideas and attitudes in people's minds. The majority of anthropologists still are concerned with these results. Anthropological research problems, field studies, writings are concerned mainly with social, political, economic, and religious systems, their inter-relationships within societies, and the comparison of these from society to society.

Even in the study of how these systems change as a result of contact between societies, invention, diffusion of new cultural forms, or in adaptation to sweeping changes in the conditions of existence, the majority of anthropologists do not involve themselves with psychological problems of any sort, much less with learning.

But as a result of the influence of Sapir, Mead, Benedict, and many others, a "personality-in-culture," or "ethnopsychology" group developed in anthropology. The popularity of this field was extremely high from about 1940 to 1952, but has declined considerably since then. There is evidence, however, that the influence of the psychologically oriented work of this group on the whole of anthropology has been great, and is today represented in various implicit and subtle ways, as well as in the explicit approaches, techniques, and interpretations in research.

It should be clear that no more than a minority of anthropologists have ever been concerned about psychological

[1] For reviews of relations between anthropology and psychology, or psychiatry, see Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Influence of Psychiatry on Anthropology in America During the Past 100 Years," in *One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry*, New York: Columbia University, 1944; and A. I. Hallowell, "Psychology and Anthropology," in *For a Science of Social Man*, John Gillin, editor, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954.

processes in their studies. But even the minority—the "personality in culture" group—who did acknowledge the relevance of such processes to their interests were not all concerned with learning. Many were, and are, more interested in how a personality type represented with high frequency (usually called "modal personality") within a particular society fits in with (is "functional" with) the demands placed upon people by economic and social systems, than in how this personality type comes into being in individual development.[2]

Anthropological Viewpoint

This all means that there is no specifically anthropological conception of learning, or of how it occurs. But there is something to be said about learning from an anthropological point of view. When an anthropologist does concern himself with learning he is likely to start with some assumptions, and proceed to draw some inferences, that psychologists dealing with the same processes would not.

The most determinant assumption with which an anthropologist is likely to start is that virtually all human learning occurs in a culturally influenced, if not culturally created environment. This is at the same time a very profound and a virtually meaningless statement. To make it more the former than the latter for our purposes, permit me to discuss an example provided by Dorothy Eggan, an anthropologist who has studied with the Hopi Indians of the southwest.

One of her hypotheses is of particular interest to us here: "That the Hopi, as contrasted with ourselves, were experts in the use of affect in their educational system, and that this element continued to operate throughout the entire life span of each individual as a *reconditioning* factor." [3] She describes how instruction went on, running through all activity "like a connecting thread," ". . . children . . . learned what it meant to be a good Hopi from a wide variety of determined teachers who had very definite—and mutually *consistent*—ideas of what a good Hopi is." [4] There was, it is clear from her further description, reinforcement of desired learning in various situations, at different times, and at the hands of many people, and all of this reinforcement was patterned in Hopi terms.

What makes her analysis particularly interesting as an example, however, is that she is not satisfied with merely showing that Hopi children become Hopi adults because their learning to be Hopi is reinforced at every turn. She also shows how Hopi children "learn" to want to be good Hopi—to live and want to live by the Hopi ideal and conscience, the Hopi "Good Heart." She points out that in one sense the weaning of a Hopi child from its biological mother starts from the day of his birth. There are many "arms to give him comfort," many faces to smile at him, and the breast of his mother's mother or mother's sister if he cries for food in his mother's absence. The Hopi family and household is such

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[2] The study of the psychological supports for social structures is among the most interesting to anthropologists with psychological leanings today. For an early and general statement of this kind of interest by a social philosopher, see Erich Fromm, "Psychoanalytic Characterology and Its Application to the Understanding of Culture," in S. Sargent, editor, *Culture and Personality*, New York: Viking Fund, 1949.

[3] Dorothy Eggan. "Instruction and Affect in Hopi Cultural Continuity." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12:350. Winter 1956.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

that relatives of many ages and both sexes are always near. So while the Hopi child is being weaned from the breast of his mother, his emotional dependence upon the Hopi in-group is developing—his loyalties and his sources of satisfaction are extending from one person to many people, and they are all Hopi.

This contrasts to the situation in our society, as Mrs. Eggan points out. With us the training for *independence* starts at birth. "We sleep alone; we are immediately and increasingly in a world of comparative strangers. A variety of nurses, doctors, relatives, sitters, and teachers, march through our lives in a never-ending procession. A few become friends, but *compared with a Hopi child's experiences,* the impersonality and lack of emotional relatedness to so many kinds of people with such widely different backgrounds is startling. Indeed, the disparity of the relationships as such is so great that a continuity of emotional response is impossible, and so we learn to look for emotional satisfaction in change, which in itself becomes a value." [5]

She returns to the theme of reinforcement, and shows us how a Hopi child is given a dramatic shove towards adulthood during certain pre-pubertal initiation ceremonies. The social and psychological relationships activated here are too complex and subtle for summary. Suffice it to say that Hopi children at about age nine are shocked by the revelation that certain beings they have heretofore regarded literally as Gods are really men —and close relatives at that. But given the preconditioning of Hopi learning-in-culture, the initiation experience threatens a child's conscious beliefs at first, but then causes him to gain security by an even firmer internalization of in-group norms and values. And further, children who have been through the experience now feel grown-up and responsible for maintaining the Hopi Way and living by the Good Heart.

Even from this brief summary it should be clear that learning to become a Hopi must involve the same general psychobiological learning mechanisms as learning to be a middle-class American, or for that matter, a Zulu, Puka-Pukan, or upper-class Egyptian, but that the content acquired in this learning, the way it is put together and with what motivations, is highly influenced by the Hopi's, American's, or Zulu's cultural heritage.

The validity of this generalization seems reduced somewhat by the fact that the American society is not culturally homogeneous, even within a single social class within a single community. Each small family group, in one sense, has a "subculture" of its own, and because our family groups tend to be comparatively isolated from each other a child may be decisively influenced by this subculture. On the other hand, family privacy and separateness is a part of our cultural pattern. We assume that every young couple will want to strike out on its own and establish its own home, preferably some distance from "in-laws." The variation in familial influences in our society may therefore be seen, at least in part, as the result of a culture pattern in itself.

Or if we consider an area of behavior such as the treatment of nudity within the home, we may find that American families, even within the middle-class, vary considerably in the degree to which nudity is allowable, or under certain conditions, encouraged. But the anthropologist would want to know to what extent people in middle-class society may be reacting to a traditional Anglo-Saxon cultural sanction against nudity, *even when*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 356.

they support or approve of it. One suspects that parents who believe strongly that their children should see each other, and the parents, in the nude, and that parents who believe this should be avoided if possible, may actually be communicating *the same cultural concern with nudity to their children.*

The discussion up to this point underlines the basic point of this short article. Although an anthropologist, *as anthropologist,* will usually not have a theory of learning, he will usually be concerned with the cultural context of learning. He will usually be able to identify a cultural component in any significant area of learning in our society, as well as in the more homogeneous, comparatively stable societies with which he has had most experience.[6]

Learning in Schools

When we move to the school as a learning environment we discover new complications, cultural and otherwise. Each child coming to the school represents a slightly, or widely, different culture. This is most apparent when major social class or ethnic differences exist within the school district, but it is true, for reasons already cited, in even the more apparently homogenous populations. But in each classroom there will usually be only one teacher—and this teacher is also a product of culture. The question is—to what extent is the teacher's cultural background similar to, congruent with, or antagonistic to, those backgrounds represented by his students? What avenues to communication are therefore open, or blocked? These questions can be seen as crucial when we realize that the teacher is charged with transmitting selected aspects (curriculum content) of our culture to *all* of the children, and that this teacher must create a receptive learning environment in order for this to happen.[7]

The Hopi teachers are experts (and all Hopi become teachers) at creating a situation receptive to Hopi culture-in-transmission. We have briefly explored some of the ways this is done. But the teacher in our schools faces a more difficult task. Perhaps the task may become more understandable as a cultural point of view becomes more widespread in educational thinking. Skill in cultural analysis, which can be developed in teacher training (both institutional and in-service), makes possible the identification of significant cultural influences on the *conditions* of learning. Such identification should, when coupled with other kinds of knowledge available through psychology and sociology, enhance the prediction of consequences for various courses of educational action.

[6] For some experiments in this direction, see *Education and Anthropology,* G. Spindler, editor, Stanford University, 1955, particularly the chapters by D. Lee, J. Henry, C. W. M. Hart.

[7] This perspective on the teacher and classroom is developed in the Third Burton Lecture in Elementary Education, *The Transmission of American Culture,* by G. D. Spindler, published by the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1959.

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MARION EDMAN

Comparative Education: Professional Grapenuts?

Though the purposes of comparative education are not too clearly defined, several values can result through study of education in other cultures.

THE HABIT of educators to look at the work of schools in other countries is a time-honored and respectable practice. Philosophers and historians of antiquity commented about the methods of other nations for educating their youth. Every student of the development of the American school is well aware of the reports of Horace Mann who toured the continent to study current practice in the schools of the most highly developed nations of his day. His observations were the basis of many features that make American schools what they are today.

In our day a favorite game of many persons seems to be that of making pronouncements about the philosophies of child rearing and the practices of schooling children and youth around the globe. This "game" is played, however, not only by the learned and the professional, but by businessmen, housewives, farmers, and youth themselves.

The reasons for this great interest in education are manifold: communication has vastly improved through the means of modern science; travel has increased greatly; the advance of science has become of paramount importance; the power blocs in the world realize that education is a weapon of prime importance in maintaining a position of world leadership; change in social and economic life is so rapid that the old patterns of education obviously become obsolete literally overnight. Nor must it be supposed that this interest in schools is one which pervades the USA alone. Particularly in Europe are there endless discussions and debate over educational philosophy and practice in this country, due in some measure, no doubt, to the many visitors brought to our shores in recent years through various governmental and quasi-governmental programs.

In a recent letter to an American friend, a German teacher who, after reading of the general discontent with schools here, set off by the launching of Sputnik, wrote:

When we German teachers visited the United States ten years ago, your remarkable schools were a constant source of wonder to us: particularly the opportunity given each child to develop according to his talents and interests at a rate of speed suitable to him. We would be so very happy if it were possible for us to do the same in our schools. Here the curriculum is too easy for the bright, too difficult for the dull. We depend on drill, drill and more drill, followed by examinations at every step. The benefits of this sort of schooling are soon

lost. Allowing your children to develop and learn naturally is the secret of the tremendous productive energy of the American people. It would be a great pity for you to lose the greatest resource you have by now beginning the kind of educational lockstep from which Europe suffers.

To match this popular interest in what is happening in schools on a global scale, many colleges and universities have established courses and, in some cases, departments of comparative education. Textbooks in the area are appearing in ever increasing numbers. Professional periodicals are filled with articles describing the details of many programs in many places.

Very often the result of all this fervor has been complete confusion and frustration. Seemingly the objective behind most of the search for information about schools and schooling in other lands has been to try to find answers for such questions as these: Are *they* better than *we* are? Do *their* children learn more than *ours*? Are *they* ahead of *us* in science? In mathematics? Why are *their* children better at learning foreign languages than *ours*? In the USA, most pressing of all questions in this year of criticism seems to be, "Are Russian schools better than ours?" And to many citizens an obvious answer seems to be, "Of course they are! Who launched Sputnik first?"

A Total Program

One working in the field of comparative education soon learns that answers to such questions, particularly in terms of better and best, are not easily found, if ever they are found. One needs always to ask, "Better or best for what purpose?" Furthermore, one learns that one cannot look simply at the educational system of a country to learn anything very significant about the product of its schools. One must look as well at the complete social, political and economic structure which that educational system attempts to maintain and serve before one can make sense of the many details which go into a total program of education for a nation's children.

Kandel stresses the importance of understanding this point of view, quoting from a speech given by M. E. Sadler in 1900. In this statement, Sadler emphasized the need to "try to find out what is the intangible, impalpable spiritual force which, in the case of any successful system of education is in reality upholding the school system and accounting for its present efficiency." Sadler continues:

In studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside. We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and of battles long ago. It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. It reflects, while seeking to remedy, the failings of national character. By instinct it often lays special emphasis on those parts of training which the national character particularly needs. Not less by instinct, it often shrinks from laying stress on points concerning which bitter dissensions have arisen in former periods of national history. But is it not likely that, if we have endeavoured in a sympathetic spirit, to under-

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stand the real working of a foreign system of education, we shall in turn find ourselves better able to enter into the spirit and tradition of our own national education, more sensitive to its unwritten ideals, quicker to catch the signs which mark its growing or fading influence, readier to mark the dangers which threaten it and the subtle workings of hurtful change? The practical value of studying in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy the workings of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and understand our own.[1]

Because education is thus interwoven with the total culture pattern, all authorities in the field seem well agreed on this point: Comparative education cannot be comparative in terms of being generally better or best. This is particularly valid when considering an educational pattern which a given nation hopes to adopt for its own simply on the strength that it seems to be functioning well and serving the needs of the country where it was established and developed as a part of the total national culture.

Therefore, comparative education cannot carry on the study of education of and by itself, for education cannot be divorced from the total culture which nurtures and supports it.

From this discussion it would seem clear that being concerned primarily neither with *comparison* nor with *education,* the discipline now commonly referred to as comparative education is a form of professional grapenuts. The label given this area belies the real nature of what such a discipline can hope to achieve—supplying, perhaps, *some* nourishment to professional endeavor, through the particular insights it may furnish, but clearly deceptive of its true purpose because of the title commonly given it.

[1] Quoted in I. L. Kandel, *The New Era in Education,* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1955. p. 9-10.

Values of Comparative Study

What then can be accomplished by study in this field? I should like to suggest four possible values which can result through taking a global view of education and through trying to understand why different nations have arrived at different solutions for their common problem of preparing citizens in ways which will prosper them and guarantee their own perpetuation.

The first is that such study forces one almost immediately to review and to look more deeply into the cultural life of each national group than most students of education have previously done. Only so can one make some sense of the discrete facts that can be assembled regarding any system of education. Thus one must take a fresh look at the history of France to understand the emphasis on the purely academic learning in French schools; to consider economic problems in England to realize why her school system remained so long undemocratic in its failure to provide educational opportunity for all; to assess the social structure of Germany to understand the hold which a two-track system of education established in that country; to understand the welfare-state philosophy of the Scandinavian countries to account for a number of practices in their schools.

These examples are perhaps too obvious, but as one begins to look into them, other facets of study open up. Students in classes in comparative education often declare their intention to return to studies in the liberal arts college having to do with history, economics, sociology, anthropology, art, and others in order to probe more deeply into the reasons underlying certain educational develop-

ments. This sort of relationship certainly strengthens both the areas of general knowledge of the world and of professional understanding as to how schools operate and what functions they attempt to fulfill.

The second value comes from beginning with educational development and trying to trace social and cultural developments through these manifestations. One notable example of recent date may be quoted. In December of last year, Premier Khrushchev announced a very fundamental change in the educational program of the USSR. The period of compulsory schooling is to be raised from seven to eight years and then beyond that point, formal education is to be part-time until the end of the secondary school is reached. Each pupil is to have actual work experience as a major part of his educational program.

Writing in *Pravda* for September 6, 1958, I. Kairov, president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR gives a preview of this decision and some reasons for it.

In the 1930's the Soviet schools were assigned the task of preparing youths for entrance into technical schools and institutions of higher learning by giving them a good grounding in the basic sciences (Russian language, physics, chemistry, history, geography, etc.). This was dictated by the necessity of preparing in the shortest time, hundreds of thousands of young specialists for the nation's economy and culture. For the past 25 to 30 years, the schools have been working on the fulfillment of this task, and, for the most part, they have been successful. At the present time, there are more than six million specialists with secondary and higher education working in the national economy—almost 33 times as many as existed in pre-revolutionary Russia. An authentic cultural revolution has been carried out in our country.

The general education secondary schools, however, being oriented to the preparation of their graduates into institutions of higher learning failed to pay attention to labor education and to Lenin's ideas on polytechnical education. There occurred a definite rift between the schools and life which became painfully apparent in the post-war years when the graduates of the secondary schools began to enter into industrial and agricultural production.

Graduates of the secondary school demonstrated a lack of preparation for real work. Many of them thought that graduation from a secondary school should relieve them of the necessity of doing direct labor as workers or farmers. The schools failed to change their program in time to keep up with changing conditions.[2]

Any student of education and of the accomplishments in the economic development of the Soviet Union during the past two decades may well take this change in educational policy as a starting point to trace the outlines of the new Seven Year Economic Plan which has been subsequently announced by Khrushchev. This new mobilization of manpower through a change in the educational program will mean something entirely different in the economic output of the nation. Such understanding gives one a basis for judging the merits or demerits of the educational effect made by the change in the schools.

Or one can look at the results obtained in various areas of the world when an educational system from without was imposed upon people in colonial status. The Philippines are a prime example, with persistent problems of illiteracy, lack of economic development and political stability, even though they have had three different so-called "advanced" sys-

[2] Translation furnished by William Benjamin, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

tems of education imposed upon them. India today suffers from an over supply of narrowly trained academicians and clerks and is sadly lacking in trained mechanics and skilled workmen of all types.

In the Middle East, weak governments struggle to free established curriculums from old patterns. In Lebanon, for example, children still spend more time on the geography of France than on their own land; study the French language more intensively than their own Arabic. In Asia, where polluted drinking water is drawn up in buckets from rivers and ponds, children in most schools are busy with such problems as these: "Faucet A can fill a tank in 8 hours. Faucet B can fill it in 10 hours. Suppose both faucets are turned on at 8 o'clock in the morning. At 10 o'clock, faucet B is out of order and must be closed off. What time will the tank be full?"

By presenting such irrational and often ridiculous situations to students of comparative education, they are led to make studies of cultural patterns which must form the basis for establishing a rationale for the development of a truly functional educational system. Only by taking account of the developments in government, economics and total social pattern can a school system be set up which will ultimately lead to a betterment of conditions in the so-called underdeveloped areas of the world.

Thirdly, the study of comparative education makes use of many types of learning other than textbook study. It encourages combing a community for resource people who can answer questions concerning cultures and schools. It encourages travel and the learning of foreign languages. It spurs the creation and useful functioning of all sorts of international professional organizations, conferences and the publication of reports and periodicals. It encourages good use of all sorts of exchange programs for teachers and students.

Finally, comparative education can hold up a mirror for any nation to see its own school system more clearly and wisely. This can be done without being too much concerned about the *better* and the *best* as regards other systems. Sadler makes this point in the quotation from him previously cited. Margaret Mead further points out this advantage of looking at cultures other than one's own:

> In all of these comparisons between American and Samoan culture, many points are useful only in throwing a spotlight upon our own solution, while in others it is possible to find a suggestion for change. Whether or not we envy other peoples one of their solutions, our attitudes toward our own solutions may be greatly broadened and deepened by a consideration of the ways in which other peoples have met the same problems. Realizing that our own ways are not humanly inevitable nor God-ordained, but are the fruit of a long and turbulent history, we may well examine into all of our institutions, thrown into strong relief against the history of other civilizations, and weighing them in the balance, be not afraid to find them wanting.[3]

Certainly schools are one extremely important aspect of the total cultural pattern, and as we analyze generally how this piece of it serves other peoples, we begin to understand better what functions our own schools can serve in the total pattern of national and international life in view of cultural goals.

Most important of all perhaps in the study of comparative education, is the

(Continued on page 460)

[3] Margaret Mead. *Coming of Age in Samoa.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1928, p. 233.

BERNHARD L. HORMANN
and LAWRENCE M. KASDON

Integration in Hawaii's Schools

How well have the schools of Hawaii, serving the varied social classes and cultural groups of the islands, achieved their objectives?

HAWAII, with its more than half million people, is truly one of the most mixed communities in the world.

Only 180 years ago the Islands were occupied by approximately 300,000 isolated neolithic Polynesians living in a feudal type of society. The discovery by Captain Cook in 1778 brought the inevitable forces of civilization, good and bad. Beginning in 1820 New England missionaries arrived and left their mark —Christianizing these folk people and rapidly transforming them from a preliterate to a literate society. It was also largely, although not exclusively, Yankee initiative which laid the groundwork for a new economy based on trade, and sugar and pineapple plantations. Primarily, during the period from 1875 to 1925 the needs of the plantations for field hands led to the recruitment of laborers from all over the world.

In recent years, however, the major movements of population have been mainly to and from the U. S. mainland, mostly Caucasians, called "haoles" in Hawaii, but also of Orientals and some Negroes. While the racial complexion of Hawaii's population is thus always fluid, the present proportions can be roughly summarized as follows: A large fifth of the population is of pure Caucasian descent; a smaller but rapidly increasing fifth has varying proportions of Hawaiian ancestry; almost two-fifths are of Japanese origin; and the remaining fifth consists of Filipinos, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, American Negroes, and Samoans, pretty much in that numerical order. By common usage these are the "races" of Hawaii (2:27).

Because of this polyglot population, the public schools of Hawaii have in former years assumed two basic tasks: First, transforming a stone-age folk people to a literate people capable of taking their part in the modern world; and second, assimilating to our industrial urban American way of life the children of a large number of Asian and European immigrants of peasant background and foreign culture.

By briefly examining the history of education in Hawaii one can see how these tasks were accomplished. The children of the missionaries, the mixed children of haole fathers, and the children of Hawaiian chiefs, occupying a distinctly higher status than the commoners, had special educational needs which led to the establishment under

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private auspices in the 1830s and 1840s of schools for these children (3:224-31). Some of the early private schools later became public schools, accepting haole children, as well as mixed and aristocratic Hawaiians. For the majority of commoners the missionaries organized common schools, first for adults then for children. By the 1850s these common schools had evolved into a governmentally supported school system, but it was not until 1888 that the public schools were "free" (4:83).

Changing Program

During the last decades of the nineteenth century the common schools gradually changed over to English in response to the requests from Hawaiians who wanted their children to learn English. How thoroughly these schools accomplished this task is indicated by the fact that Hawaiian is a dying language in the Territory. The first American-type public high school was established in Honolulu in the nineties, drawing at first mainly haole children.

When children of the foreign labor immigrants reached school age, they entered the public schools, which had become English schools. This new group, largely of Oriental ancestry, rapidly became the dominant element in the public schools. In 1910 somewhat less than half the children in public schools were of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino ancestry. By 1920 they constituted 60 percent of the enrollment.

These second-generation children had serious difficulties with the English language. To meet this problem they were funneled into Receiving Grades where they were introduced to the English language and customs before being admitted to integrated first grade classes. As a result of the heavy influx of immigrants, the Receiving Grades were continued on a Territory-wide basis from 1896 to 1930.

Because of the continued concern over language problems and the increased immigration of haoles in a lower income bracket than formerly, the so-called "English standard" schools were established in the early 1920s as part of the public school system. Enrollment was on the basis of passing an oral English examination. These schools were first at the elementary level and then extended to the secondary level. During the three decades of their existence, only nine English standard schools were organized throughout the Islands. While non-haole children were not excluded, the schools had a predominance of haole children until the outbreak of World War II, when the number of haoles decreased because of evacuation to the U. S. mainland. Their places were rapidly filled by children of Hawaiian and Oriental extraction.

In 1947, when 7 percent of all public school children were attending these standard schools, the Orientals constituted 39 percent, the haoles 30 percent, the Hawaiians, pure and mixed, 24 percent of the English standard school enrollment [1] (1:85).

While at the height of the English standard system, children of Oriental ancestry who had been excluded sometimes felt they had been discriminated against on a racial rather than a linguistic basis, there is little objective evidence to indicate that this ever occurred. Cer-

[1] The remaining 7 percent were of mixed ancestry or did not fall into any of the categories used.

Lunch time at Jefferson School, Waikiki, Hawaii.

PEGGY HICKOK, DEPT. PUB. INSTR., HAWAII

tainly it was never in any sense policy. The English standard school enrollment statistics for 1947 cited above as well as observation of the present enrollment at the one remaining English standard high school—official racial statistics are no longer compiled—belie any charge of racial discrimination. In order that the impression not be gained that the Caucasian children who were enrolled in the public schools were confined to the standard schools, it must be pointed out that only one-fifth of them were in the standard schools.

In the late forties a political issue developed around the need to continue the English standard school on the ground that it was "undemocratic" and that the problem of linguistic lag was being solved in other ways. Consequently, the legislature mandated elimination of these schools on a year-by-year basis. By 1961 English standard schools will be a thing of the past.

Integration

In order to see the extent of integration in the public schools, let us examine the evidence. The total enrollment statistics by race for the public school system were last available in 1947. In percentages, the 82,874 children were divided as follows (1:86):

Hawaiian, pure and mixed	21.3%
Caucasian	10.7
Chinese	4.8
Japanese	47.0
Korean	1.1
Filipino	10.1
All others	5.0

Here we see clearly the presence of all races in Hawaii's integrated public schools, although certain races, particularly the haoles and the Chinese, are underrepresented.

The professional staff of the public schools as well as the Commissioners of Public Instruction are also integrated groups. The present Commission chairman is an American of Japanese ancestry. Almost half of the professional staff in the territorial office and approximately three-fifths in the district offices are non-haole. More than a third of the principals in the 213 public schools are Americans of Oriental descent. At the remaining English standard high school a quarter of the faculty is of Japanese, Chinese, or Hawaiian ancestry.

We can say categorically that racial segregation has never been the practice of the public schools of Hawaii. To explain this fact more clearly, let us now turn to the private schools, for they also played a distinct role in the integrative process.

As noted above, the earliest private schools in Hawaii were first established for special groups of children—children of the missionaries and of the Hawaiian nobility. Schools for the former were necessary; otherwise, the missionaries would have had to send their children around the Horn to the Eastern seaboard. In order to keep their children close by and to prevent their "contamination" with the Hawaiian language, they welcomed the establishment of a local boarding school, Punahou, in 1841.

Punahou soon began to accept nonmissionary haole children as well as Hawaiian and mixed children who could meet its standards. Later in the century the school met the pressure of large numbers of Chinese children with inadequate English speech desiring admission by the establishment of an informal quota of 10 percent for Orientals. This quota was maintained into the 1940s but has now been abolished. Punahou School, more than any other

school in the islands, has been the symbol of the "haole" school, and the sporadic object of anti-white feeling. However, it is gradually losing this character and tries to maintain a representative balance of all races in the community. Punahou now admits anyone who meets its academic requirements (with preference to children of alumni).

If Punahou has been the "haole" school, Kamehameha is the "Hawaiian" school. Established in 1889 by the will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last surviving royal descendant of the great King Kamehameha, this school is the sole beneficiary of her estate, which owns 9 percent of the lands of the Islands. Only children with an eighth or larger proportion of native Hawaiian ancestry are admitted to Kamehameha. Public or private, it is the only school to which the term "racially segregated" might appropriately be applied. Yet its students, numbering 1,500, show all degrees of mixture, some looking Hawaiian, some Oriental, some white, some exotically mixed and in this sense the campus is more interracial than racial. Any criticism that exists in the wider community of this institution, with its increasingly high standards, grows out of the "segregation," which, the critics claim, protects the students from the general competition which they must meet when as adults they enter the multi-racial community where segregation is less and less characteristic of every phase of life. The defenders, of course, argue that Kamehameha has helped the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians in their painful and difficult transition to urban civilization.

Other private schools are mainly under religious auspices: Catholic, Episcopal, Seventh-Day Adventist, Baptist, Lutheran, Buddhist, Mormon. Some have a colorful history which takes them back into the last century. Others are quite recent. The Catholic parochial schools have experienced marked growth in the last quarter century, accounted for by the great strength of the Roman Catholic Church, which claims almost 40 percent of the total population. Some of the schools discussed in this paragraph have become non-denominational schools and most are quite interracial.

In 1947 the 23,201 private school children showed a racial distribution somewhat different from that in the public schools (1:84, 86):

	Private Schools	Public Schools
Hawaiian, pure and mixed	28.9%	21.3%
Caucasian	31.0	10.7
Chinese	11.6	4.8
Japanese	16.8	47.0
Korean	1.2	1.1
Filipino	6.5	10.1
All others	4.0	5.0

What stands out is the over-representation of children of Caucasian, Hawaiian, and Chinese ancestry attending the private schools. The Chinese are over-represented in the private schools because this Oriental group has been in Hawaii longest and is, in some respects, the most assimilated. The Chinese have sought private school instruction at Punahou or elsewhere over a longer period of time and in large numbers than other Oriental groups up to now. It must be added that the Japanese, who followed the Chinese to the Islands, appear to have started following this pattern.

The interest of Oriental parents in sending their children to private schools reflects a striving for the best in education, for escape from earlier hardships, for improved status. It reflects marked upward mobility. There are, however, indications that as members of upper

middle class neighborhoods participate in planning their local public schools, all races are willing to send their children to these public schools. One might say that since World War II the interracial character of both public and private schools has accelerated and there is strong indication of the lack of effective demand for racially segregated education.

In summary, in Hawaii the common schools, established over a century ago for Hawaiian children, developed into the public school system of today. To the task of educating the children of a preliterate folk society was added the task of educating the children of many Oriental immigrants. Because of the linguistic, cultural and class differences separating these children from those of the middle and upper class Caucasians, the latter attended private schools primarily. This practice continued into this century, but since the 1920's the proportion of Caucasian children attending public schools has risen as has that of middle and upper class non-Caucasian children in private schools.

Today, it is because the public schools have accomplished their assimilative tasks with the Hawaiians and the nonwhite immigrants that racial integration is being accepted as natural and is increasing in both the public and private schools. Caucasian parents of moderate means now accept the public schools more fully than ever before and private schools are less and less identifiable by race.

Further, one might credit the public schools with playing an important role in helping to make racial integration a fact in the community at large. In politics and government, community organizations of all sorts, highly active PTAs, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis Clubs, in church work, in neighborhoods—in all phases of life, integration is being strengthened.

However, there are still a few racial tensions and some resistance to the process of integration in the schools and community. Nevertheless, the fact that there is such a small amount of racial tension in Hawaii may be attributed in large part to the successful role that the schools have played in bringing about racial and cultural integration in Hawaii.

At the risk of oversimplification we might say that education in Hawaii has passed through four overlapping stages in its history. The first was to reduce the Hawaiian language to a written form, Christianize the Hawaiians, and make most of the adult population literate within a decade. The second was to teach the Hawaiians English and to supplant the Hawaiian culture with the American. The third was to spearhead the cultural assimilation of Oriental and European immigrants. The fourth, in which we are now, is the strengthening of U. S. mainland cultural values and curriculum standards and bringing about the completion of racial integration in the schools. The fifth stage, to which we look forward, will be to develop patterns of public education for Hawaii's fully integrated community to which both East and West will look for guidance.

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ROBERT E. GIBSON

A Program of Cross-Cultural Education

The United States is now conducting an educational program in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Based upon a "grass roots" approach this program is described as "a mutual learning activity."

FAR OUT in the western Pacific, the United States is engaged in a unique experiment in administration. With the ending of World War II, an agreement was signed between the Security Council of the United Nations and the United States giving the latter administrative rights over the islands of Micronesia for an indefinite period, subject to overview by the United Nations. This administration has now been going on for 12 years —the first four years under the Navy and since July 1, 1951, under the Department of Interior.

The islands of Micronesia stretch over a vast area of the Pacific about the size of the United States. They are inhabited by some 70,000 Micronesians. Because they are so far flung and the problems of communication were in the past so insurmountable, nine different cultures and languages have evolved during past ages. In view of the administrative purposes given to the Administering Authority by the United Nations—to develop the people of these islands economically, politically, socially and educationally—it is obvious that the geographical extent and the multiplicity of languages and cultures compound the difficulties of the undertaking.

By the very nature of the purposes, it is also evident that the over-all task is an educational one. Every other advance is posited upon education. From the beginning of its administration, the policy of the United States in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has had as its objective the development of self-government, and fundamental in that policy as a nation-building agency has been education. But this is not the only objective. Micronesia cannot afford to have political and constitutional development unless it is preceded by a sound economy. Education is serving not only political and constitutional government but it is also very much serving economic development. Thirdly, education is the underpinning of the social development of the various peoples of Micronesia, else how can they learn to meet one another on common ground regardless of diverse cultures, languages, creeds, backgrounds, environments, hopes and aspirations.

Along with these goals set forth by the United Nations and accepted by the Administering Authority goes the necessity

of the blending of the cultures so that the Micronesian people will have a proper pride in their identity with their own particular culture. At the same time they will be able to accept valuable elements in each of the other cultures. It is also hoped that education will enable them to choose wisely from Western civilization and, especially from the American, such elements as will be beneficial and adaptable as they endeavor to make the changes necessary to accommodate themselves to the modern world.

Indirectly the task of the 275 Americans who are engaged in the process of administering the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is that of education. They are concerned with upgrading Micronesians in administration, government, health, education, agriculture and trade. More directly and specifically it is the task of the 27 American educators to help approximately 400 Micronesian teachers build a system of education responsive to the various cultural needs of Micronesians at the same time that it helps them to enter the world current. Since several cultures are involved, including the American, it becomes distinctly a problem of cross-cultural education.

Problems in Cross-Cultural Education

In his monumental work, *America as a Civilization,* Max Lerner has invoked the anthropologists in calling attention to the fact that "every people, no matter how primitive, had an organic culture. What they found was that a primitive people had its literature, even if only a body of folklore; had its science, even if only a system of magic; had its religions, even if only the worship and propitiation of idols; had its moral and legal system, even if only a set of tribal customs and sanctions." [1] The functional approaches of anthropologists like Malinowski, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead advanced the idea "that cultures are organic patterns to be treated as living wholes." [2] If this is accepted as true, then an established practice, a law, or a custom cannot be lifted out and displaced or replaced without doing some violence to the rest. Each culture, primitive or modern, is in itself whole. This is a truth we must learn to accept in Micronesia. But since each culture is a living and growing organism, it has within itself the clashes of purpose, the paradoxes and the overlappings which appear in all living organisms.

And so it is in all the cultures of Micronesia. There is the desire among the younger and better educated to be democratized. The "iroijes" and the "nanmarkis" (feudal nobility) resist such changes with all the power at their command. The very idea of universal public education is something new to Micronesia. It was not that they did not have a system of education for inducting their young into the ways of life of the tribal societies. But it was not institutionalized. Micronesian children early learn to perform definite tasks necessary to keep the social life going. They run errands, sweep the house, carry water and take care of the baby. A little later, assisted by their elders, they learn how to plant and harvest and prepare food, how to fish, build houses, fashion and sail canoes, and make mats. These are the necessary activities of life, activities in which every

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[1] Max Lerner. *America as a Civilization.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957. p. 56.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 57.

member of the community, down to the small child, has a part. When children are old enough, the wise men of the clan, the teachers, introduce them to their folkways, customs and traditions. This sufficed in a primitive culture.

The School Is New

Now a new educational institution, the public school, has been introduced. It is true that the Japanese had some public schools scattered around on a few of the islands. But the idea of universal education for all children between the ages of 8 and 14 was for the first time instituted by the Navy Administration in 1947. It is small wonder that the inhabitants of those islands and atolls far away from the more acculturated areas around the District Administration centers take the public schools with a "grain of salt." Attendance is spotty and schools are in session when the teacher feels like it.

Americans here may feel a sense of frustration over the lackadaisical and casual attitude of people who have not long emerged from a stone age culture toward the idea of universal, compulsory, public education. They had best remember that the cultural system shapes the school no less than it shapes the individual. All that comprises the culture—the controlling sentiments, ideas, and social practices—will have its influence on who attends the school, what and how they are taught, and how it is operated and controlled.

Lest Americans be appalled at the seeming lack of progress in the acceptance of American ideas about universal public education, let me allay their fears by reminding them that many important changes are rapidly taking place in the various cultural systems of Micronesia. These changes will be reflected in the schools and in the prevailing attitudes about public education and its purposes. They will not occur immediately. The time lag will vary with the nature and extent of the cultural changes.

The more those things comprising the curriculum of the schools—the set of educational objectives, the body of subject matter, the activities to be carried out, the ways of evaluating whether or not the objectives have been reached by the pupils, and the kind of control which the teacher exercises over the learners—are derived from the Micronesian cultures, the sooner will the schools become responsive to Micronesian needs. Obviously the way to bring this about is to bring Micronesians more into the planning of every phase of their life under American administration. They must be encouraged and helped to participate in the development of their educational system.

Imposition Versus Education

This requires from us (Americans) a truly educational outlook, a considerable belief in other human beings, in their capacity for growth, and a belief that human growth and development are best encouraged in any given environment as the people concerned participate both in purpose and activity in their own progress.

Here it seems to me is the crux of the conflict between two ways of life seeking ascendancy today. One would impose its way from above following the leadership principle, as exemplified by its titular heads. The other, if it is to be successful in capturing the imaginations of men, must capitalize on the sum total of the creative activities of its active members. Where can this be better accomplished than in the community itself? For what a culture is depends upon what people think, believe and do in the various com-

munities which make up that culture. It would seem, then, that the best hope for the democratic world lies in these "grass roots" movements; that it is the part of wisdom to start with current problems found in local communities if the free world is to move effectively into action on the many and varied problems in the many and varied cultures that compose it. This approach is even more important in those other cultures which lie today in that "no man's land" waiting to join that camp which can attract them most.

The fundamental education or community development movement is such a "grass roots" approach. It starts with the thesis that improving a culture means improving local communities and that education, broadly conceived, has a part in such improvement.

Here then is a new concept of education—one that is not synonymous with formal schooling; nor is it equated with teaching and learning as primarily processes of memorizing subject matter. Rather it is one that accepts that there can be no higher educational act than that of a people of a community participating and cooperating to solve problems in community life. In this kind of education, educators are needed, first, with vision; second, with ability to further vision; and third, with courage to follow through—to see that the application of vision makes a difference in community living.

This is the philosophy which activates American educators in Trust Territory as they strive to help Micronesians to see the school and its program as important to their own self-improvement and to take responsibility for its upbuilding.

Description of Teacher Education

In order to implement such a program, there are employed in each of the five districts comprising Trust Territory four supervisors of teacher education and an educational administrator.

This position of supervisor of teacher education and its attendant duties and responsibilities is almost as complex and difficult as any position imaginable. To the sincere educator, however, it is equally challenging and rewarding.

The many and varied duties center primarily around the inservice training, assisting and supervising of Micronesian teachers; improving their general and professional backgrounds of education and experience; assisting them in developing better programs of education; helping to develop better teaching materials and aids; demonstrating methods and techniques.

Much of the time of these supervisors is spent working with Micronesian teachers in their home community elementary schools—most of these on islands and atolls at distances up to 600 miles from the district center.

There are from 23 to 48 elementary schools in each of the five districts. Given the very limited background of Micronesian personnel, the supervisor must be flexible and able to work at all levels in programs of total community education. He works closely with community leaders, drawing upon and developing local skills and talents as he strives to assist in developing an educational program which best fits the living pattern of the community.

The supervisor should become conversant with the local language in order to communicate effectively with the people, most of whom know no English. He must be able to help plan and develop improved programs in such communities, not along patterns developed and geared to the United States or "western" communities and cultures, but

to meet the needs of the different island cultures with respect to their political, economic, social and educational advancement, without destroying the persisting and inherently good aspects of local cultures.

At the present time, most Micronesian teachers have had less than what could be considered junior high school education. Most of them have attended a number of teacher training sessions at the district center. Occasionally, a somewhat experienced teacher is replaced by a complete neophyte at the order of a local chief and officialdom. A few teachers are graduates of the Pacific Islands Central School, the only senior high school in all of Trust Territory.

Suitable texts, teaching aids and materials are sadly lacking and need to be developed. Curriculum and course of study development are at a low level. Most buildings and facilities would seem shockingly inadequate to the U. S. educator.

These are, in brief, some of the problems to be overcome. In working toward this, the supervisor of teacher education is faced not only with the language barrier (three different languages in one district, nine in all), but with the many cultural differences even between islands of a district. In all communities much good education in traditional community living takes place.

In few communities have the benefits of better planned education to cope with changing cultural and environmental factors been demonstrated and accepted.

Developing Local Responsibility

It is obvious that the position of the educator in Micronesia is no ordinary one. It is the task of building from the bottom up a public school system from community to community through the participation of the people of the community. It is also helping teachers to carry out the program effectively with community backing once it has been established.

It is important to note here that any program and planning should be adjusted to one overriding authority—the authority of the situation itself. While the people of the many islands are always ready to welcome the supervisor and to accept his advice, they have the right of final judgment and any outside expert in education should defer to this final judgment of the people to be educated. At least he should give to their knowledge and judgment equal status with his own.

This viewpoint presupposes that the supervisor of teacher education has the ability to learn from the people and does not seek to impose his judgment upon them. It also rules out detailed planning in advance for any given community for the very good reason that preconceived plans make the supervisor too committed to his own ideas of what the community needs and of ways to meet those needs. It could be that the preplanners define for themselves what the community's problems are and then take the next logical step which is to provide the solutions and finally to manipulate the community into accepting both the problems and the solutions.

This is not the development of community education as we envisage it in Micronesia. What we want ultimately to do is to make the community less dependent on the administering agent. We want to stimulate people to the point where they are willing and able to identify and solve their own problems. Externally conceived goals are liable to defeat such ends.

The anthropologists have been a definite asset in helping the educators in Trust Territory establish the program. One of the requirements in developing community education is that attitudes, institutions, and organizations that set up obstacles to change need to be modified; and that those attitudes, institutions and organizations which facilitate the fullest expression of individual capacities need to be developed. In this connection, the anthropologists have indeed helped.

The Process Is Important

In community education, we are as interested in the process as in the product. And the process is intimately concerned with whether an increasing number of people are becoming aware of their common needs in education, of the common resources available to meet them and are learning to participate as a group in meeting them. It is only as this happens that community education is taking place.

Community education projects should provide a means for carrying leadership right through to the people who do the work. It is not only a question of leadership at the top and leadership to stimulate action by the people through workers at the village level. It is even more the stimulation of leadership among the people themselves and the establishment of organizations so that this leadership can function.

So the United States proceeds in this unique experiment in cross-cultural education, beset by many problems for which there are no ready-made solutions, handicapped at times by those who think that the American answer is the best answer and that, because it has succeeded in America, there is no question of its applicability to the Micronesian.

Generally, however, the more democratic and less culturally-exclusive ways have prevailed. We do have respect for their cultures and try to provide them with the kind of education that will enable them to make the final choice of what they shall accept and adopt of our culture.

As in all educational endeavors, the end is not in sight. Some historian in the future will have to tell us how well we have achieved. For the time, we are engaged in a mutual learning activity.

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EDNA V. AMBROSE

Cultural Values and Learning in Japan

Japanese schools, in an important period of change, are responding both to traditional and to modern influences.

JAPAN is now adjusting to recent, large-scale reforms. The reforms have been instituted in a general cultural climate that is diffused with legacies from a feudalistic and ultra-nationalistic past intermingled with liberal and humanistic influences. During the feudalistic period, social relationships were based on a complex hierarchy. The rule of primogeniture and the priority of male over female prevailed. The code of behavior demanded of the aristocratic class dignity, propriety and self-control; of the populace, piety, deference and respect.

In 1868, the Meiji Government opened Japan's doors to the West and undertook to transform Japan into a modern, industrialized nation. A multi-track, highly centralized school system was set up, in which education was compulsory in the primary school for three and later six years. Beyond the primary level, boys and girls attended separate schools; few girls studied beyond the compulsory level, for it was feared that too much education would make a woman worldly wise and impair her traditional role in the family.

Many intellectuals embraced western ideas enthusiastically and expounded a liberal and democratic philosophy of education. Traditionalists, alarmed at the trend, succeeded in having the Imperial Rescript for Education issued in 1890. Emphasis was placed upon a form of nationalism, with the Imperial Family at the head; filial piety, duty, respect for law, elders and government became the central themes of moral education in the schools.

Traditional respect for government and high regard for learning carried prestige to the schools and their teachers. Parents contributed heavily to the financial support of the schools. They considered it their duty to support each child throughout all his years of study so he could concentrate upon his important duty—being a student. The student took his work seriously in accordance with a long established concept of success: to do well whatever one is called upon to do.

The glaring defect in education was too close, centralized control, which allowed reactionary leaders to use the schools for their purposes.

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PHOTO COURTESY THE AUTHOR

Caring for the poultry raised at school.

Revolutionary changes in the educational system followed World War II: decentralization, reorganization of educational administration, establishment of a coeducational 6-3-3-4 system with nine years of compulsory education, and reorientation of the curricula and teaching materials to the goals of democratic education.

As Japan attempts to evolve her educational program within the new framework, she is not without dedicated leaders to whom concepts of democracy are well known. On the other hand, the prewar heritage remains a pervasive influence. In addition, there are problems stemming from the difficulties well-intentioned youth and adults experience in differentiating the superficial and the intrinsic in "the democratic way." Unfortunately, in this crucial period, strife between radicalism and conservatism tears at the schools. At present, a reactionary trend appears to be gaining momentum.

Administration and Supervision

The Board of Education Law (1948) provided for the establishment of boards of education as autonomous administrative agencies at the prefectural and municipal levels.[1] All but one of the board members were elected by the people. The law was revised in 1956. Today the governor or mayor appoints board members subject to the approval of the popularly elected assembly; prefectural superintendents are appointed by the prefectural board with the approval of the Ministry of Education; municipal superintendents are appointed from members of municipal boards subject to the approval of the prefectural board; responsibility for preparation of the school budget rests with the governor (or mayor).

Members of the professional staff in prefectures and large cities include teacher consultants who supposedly give educational advice and guidance. They work with teacher groups and assist in in-service education programs. In many instances, their supervisory function tends toward the inspectorial.

Parents and the Schools

A phenomenon of recent education is increased parent participation. Parents visit schools frequently; they assist teachers on such occasions as Sports Day, School Exhibition Day, school excursions. Through the PTA, parents study new developments in education, plan health and recreation programs, and arrange to provide such services as constructing swimming pools, serving

[1] A prefecture is a political unit similar to a state.

school lunch, serving tea and refreshments at school festivities and teacher conferences.

The greatest drawback to the functioning of PTA's is the necessity for devoting much time and energy to fund-raising campaigns. In 1956 parents contributed about one-third of the total per-pupil cost for elementary and lower secondary education and over 50 percent at the upper secondary level.

Most parents take a vital interest in their schools and have great confidence in teachers, to whom they turn for help in solving problems of child behavior and juvenile delinquency.

Teacher in the Public Schools

Though some Japanese say the tendency is weakening, teachers of the writer's acquaintance look upon their work as a trust and a significant social contribution. Though overburdened with classes which exceed the standards in size (40 for the kindergarten and upper secondary and 50 for the elementary and lower secondary), they work long and diligently. One teacher, in addition to his regular class work, guides school sports and club activities, takes children on walks and picnics, instructs them in swimming and skiing, organizes and guides their summer "Children's Neighborhood Association," takes his turn guarding the school building at night, teaches at in-service educational meetings, and works with home and PTA to see that children are kept away from "harmful publications and movies." He is perhaps atypical but all do much more than teach during school hours.

Many teachers stay with one class several years, sometimes throughout the six elementary school grades.

A committee reporting to classmates.

PHOTO COURTESY THE AUTHOR

At levels above the kindergarten, there are more men than women teachers; 54 percent in the elementary schools; 78 percent in the lower secondary schools; and 85 percent in the upper secondary. Teachers are paid, for 12 months a year, a salary that "is comparable to that of business employees and higher than that of employees in regular government services." [2] The basic salary at compulsory school levels starts at 9800 yen a month for a teacher with a bachelor's degree; after ten years it reaches 19,300 yen; the maximum is 41,700 yen.[3] Allowances of various sorts add about 20 percent to the basic salary: family allowances, semiannual bonuses, allowances for teaching in cold and/or remote areas, cost-of-living allowances, and day and night duty allowances. Some school boards grant travel and lodging allowances.

From the Public School Mutual Aid Association, to which they contribute, teachers receive full payment of medical expenses, half-payment of dependents' medical expenses, and low fees at inns operated at resorts by the Association. Those suffering from tuberculosis are granted full salary for as long as two years; for other illnesses they receive up to 80 percent of their regular pay. Maternity leave of 12 weeks is granted. All teachers are covered by a pension plan to which they contribute.

Teachers' organizations are of two kinds: professional in each study area; and a labor union, through which they also study professional problems. By law, the Teachers' Union is authorized to negotiate with municipal and prefectural authorities concerning salaries, working hours, and other labor problems.

[2] Ministry of Education. *Education in Japan.* Tokyo: The Ministry, 1956. p. 73.

[3] 360 yen are equivalent to one U. S. dollar.

Children and Youth in School

Teachers are sorely needed, for schools are crowded with children and youth. Except for those excused because of illness, some physical defects, or severe mental retardation, all children of compulsory school age are enrolled in regular or special schools.[4] Over half those of upper secondary school age attend full-time or part-time schools. More would attend if there were schools in their area, if they were financially able, or if they were able to pass the prefectural examinations. Over 20 percent of the upper secondary school graduates attend colleges or universities; many others attend junior colleges or miscellaneous schools. Among university students are an increasing number of girls. Many youths who aspire to attend universities fail to pass the entrance examinations. In 1955, for instance, only 20.7 percent of those who applied were admitted.

Most children attend school from Monday through Saturday noon; a few, from Monday through Friday.[5] They have three major vacations in addition to nine national holidays: six weeks in summer, two before and after the New Year, and two following the close of the school year in March.[6]

Curricula are much like those in the U.S.A. In the elementary school children study Japanese language, mathematics, science, social studies, music, drawing, physical education, and, in the

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[4] Schools for the blind, deaf, and otherwise physically handicapped.

[5] During the Occupation, a five-day week was introduced to provide time for in-service education; its popularity decreases yearly.

[6] Limited attendance is required during the summer for "Children's Association" meetings. Some city schools have open-air summer schools, usually at the seashore.

EUNICE S. MATTHEW

Cultural Values and Learning in Thailand

The Thai people are sensitive to their own rich heritage and alert to new and emerging values as they adjust their schools to modern needs.

THE HISTORY of public education in Thailand dates from the progressive action of King Chulalongkorn in the late 19th century. Around 1855 he began sending royal princes to England, Germany, Russia and Japan to study Western and other distinctive ways for introduction into programs for the welfare of the Thai nation. His concern for strengthening the kingdom to withstand the rising tide of foreign colonial expansion in the region led to the establishment of a school in the palace, and other schools in Bangkok and key locations in the country. The main purposes of these early schools were to train government officials and to provide literacy instruction as a means of arousing national consciousness and patriotism among the people. By 1921 a national system of compulsory primary education was adopted. It was not until after 1932, however, that this policy became widespread in the rural areas.

Patterned after the classical European systems of education, particularly the British, Thai schools have aimed at preparing Thai citizens in the manner of the scholarly gentleman of leisure. From the earliest periods of Thai history, the kings and royal princes were noted for favoring artists, dancers, poets, and dramatists, some of whose works have formed standard content in the school curriculum. The emphasis in formal education came to be put on the development of an intellectual elite who absorbed the type of scholarship which would not only equip them for advanced studies abroad, but would also qualify them for membership among the aristocrats of the Thai social hierarchy.

Each level of the educational organization has had its part to play in maintaining the values of the ruling class. The four-year compulsory primary (*pratom*) school has sought to provide mainly literacy training and a basic understanding of Thai nationality. Rigorous examinations at the end of each grade resulted in high percentages of children repeating a grade several times until they often reached the school-leaving age of 15 and yet had only completed the third grade. The examinations required for entry into the six-year secondary (*matayom*) school again eliminated large numbers of children. For those who wished to continue their education, vocational courses were intro-

PHOTO COURTESY THE AUTHOR

Children in Chachoengsao school learn classical Thai dances and music.

duced. These usually lacked attraction because education had to be academic to be esteemed; besides the trades did not convey the respectability ascribed to white collar jobs, especially the jobs in the civil service. The students who went on to complete the secondary school would again have to qualify for entrance to the two-year university preparatory courses before finally standing for admission to the university.

Although the program of studies listed for the school has contained a full regimen of subjects, certain areas have had traditional weight and emphasis, indicating their importance in Thai culture. The study of Thai language and literature is regarded, even in the primary school, as more than just literacy training. It is a means of developing "the golden tongue." The use of well-chosen words, witty and poetic, with allusions to classical Thai literature and in the manner of a Thai nobleman, is the mark of an educated man or woman. The study of Buddhism is a constant in every curriculum and serves as a strong reminder of the qualities of ethics which the ideal Thai must understand and practice for fundamental self-realization and full enlightenment. Thai history, with incidental references to geography and

to other countries, is another area to which a large portion of the curriculum is devoted. It is aimed at instilling a deep national pride in the feats of the royal ancestors and the past glories of the kingdom. Of increasing importance is the study of the structure and workings of the constitutional form of government as well as of the duties of every Thai citizen.

Recent Educational Reforms

Education in Thailand since World War II has been assuming new directions as a result of an enormous amount of experimentation which seems to be in support of some definite social and cultural changes. Of new and compelling significance is the reliance which the government is attempting to place upon the people to advance the quality of living in each community through a broadening of the people's responsibilities, through the provision of educational opportunities, and through the utilization of all available resources and talents; thus Thailand would be enabled the better to meet the challenges at home and in the international context.

Since 1950, the Ministry of Education has initiated pilot studies, starting with the one in Chachoengsao, a province 60 miles from Bangkok, and extending to other provinces in the kingdom. The Chachoengsao Pilot Project [1] was organized as an in-service training laboratory through which teachers and members of the community could develop a program of effective teaching, functional learning, and improved living conditions. Some 233 primary schools, 4 primary-extension schools, 3 secondary schools, 2 vocational schools, and 1 three-year teachers college were involved.

One of the first efforts of the teachers, principals and supervisors assigned by the Ministry of Education was to analyze how the content of instruction was related to the problems of the children in their daily living. As a consequence, teachers in study groups developed units of study which enriched and gave significance and a functional slant to the traditionally prescribed content. Children began to explore with their teachers such matters as how we can protect our health, how our families can use the new services of the local government offices (agriculture, cooperatives, health, adult education), how developments such as the construction of a new dam, the increased air travel in the country, new highways, etc., were changing the opportunities for Thai people, what the newspapers were saying, etc.

These curriculum modifications drew heavily on the firsthand explorations of the children and teachers and the results of work done by government and international agencies working with adult groups in the various communities. Children began to develop an understanding of the here and now and the ways in which they could shape their world. The school personnel indicated their approval of such approaches as would prepare the children for change.

The necessity to consider ways by which all children could be helped to learn more effectively became apparent. There was concern for the large num-

[1] The Chachoengsao Pilot Project was assisted by specialists in community education from UNESCO, WHO, and ILO and educational specialists from the U.S. International Cooperation Administation. The Thai directors of the Project were outstanding educationists, many of whom have taken professional training in the United States, Europe, Japan, and the Philippines.

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ber of children who had difficulty meeting the requirements of the course of study, for example, that all number facts be mastered in the first and second grades using both Thai and Arabic figures. There was concern also about the many children who could not read or write well enough to achieve functional literacy by the fourth grade, which was the customary terminal point for most children.

Children were generally lectured to or asked to copy notes from the blackboard and memorize them for the examinations. The text used by the teacher as her "lecture" reference with perhaps a few more texts among the children for reading practice, the children's copy books, and a small blackboard before the class were the only materials in use. Instruction seemed to be based on the idea Confucius expressed, "When I have presented one corner of a subject to anyone and he cannot learn from it the other three corners, I do not repeat the lesson."

Study groups of teachers analyzed the needs, abilities, motivations, previous experiences, and responses of children to learning-teaching situations. Most of the teachers, who for the most part had had limited professional training, were eager to try "modern methods of teaching" or "learning by doing" because they had heard about them in their lectures on modern educational theory, but were not sure how they could be applied.

Gradually classrooms were changing from lecture rooms into laboratories of provocative, realistic, and effective work. Children were planning, working in groups on their level with more understanding and specific guidance by their teachers, going on field trips, working with word pocket charts, building experience stories, receiving developmental guidance for new concepts and skills, revealing their insights in discussions, home and school projects, art work, dramas using classical Thai dancing, in writing, experimenting to test scientific principles, analyzing instructional materials prepared by teachers in workshops, giving programs for their parents and other classes, etc.

Evaluations and promotions became more qualitative than quantitative. Some valuable and encouraging investigations began in an attempt to ascertain the learning achievements of the children in these experimental schools. In fact, a lively spate of educational research in child study, testing and evaluation is in process, headed by Thai Ministry of Education officials. An International Institute for Child Study was set up in Bangkok in 1954 with the assistance of UNESCO to gather data concerning child development in the region.

A Sensitive Adjustment

The necessity for all children to have a longer period of education than the four years of primary education was recognized in the extension of some primary schools to seven year schools for experiment before converting all primary schools in the kingdom. The additional three years were to be a continuation of the minimum program of general education for all children, including those who may qualify for the academic stream in the secondary school which was also being reformed to allow for a comprehensive program, geared to the varied talents and abilities at this advanced level. Practical courses which would equip the boys and girls to develop skills which could be applied for better use of community resources and for better living were features of the extended primary schools. Craft shops,

homemaking rooms, farm plots, fishing ponds, livestock pens, and chicken coops were designed on the school campuses, with the help of the farmers, the priests and craftsmen in the villages.

Organizing the curriculum for these courses required a sensitive reconciliation between certain traditional conceptions of education and the avowed purposes of the new program. Teachers, principals, and supervisors grappled with the question of whether, in the study of home economics one could respectably teach about foods in such realistic terms as the preparation of rice to conserve its food value, the growing of vegetables and their preparation, or the making of little boys' school pants along with the admired "finishing school" activities of leisure class girls who were usually taught how to make flower garlands, floral offerings, flower-shaped fruits and vegetables, expensive ambrosia-like desserts, and fancy embroidery.

Teachers began to hail the enthusiasm and growth of the formerly bored child, slow child, and shy child. There were teachers, of course, who had misgivings about the changes. Should children be asking so many questions? Was it not too difficult to maintain the traditional standards of reserve and discipline and even respect for teachers when children were being permitted the freedom of leaving their seats and working together on projects? Didn't the lecture-study (memorize)-examination method insure systematic coverage of content and prepare the gifted child better for advanced study? Wasn't too much time being spent on the use of instructional materials and activities? Couldn't the teacher tell the children all they needed to know? Shouldn't the slow learning child continue to feel the responsibility of having "to get it the best way he can"? Why should a teacher in the third grade feel any responsibility for helping children with work which should have been mastered in the earlier grades? Shouldn't the topics dealing with the matters of daily living be left to the home? Weren't the schools attempting to imitate or impose foreign procedures?

Apart from the fact that many of these teachers were really expressing their personal insecurity and bewilderment, they were also indicating concern about any threats to the personality traits which Thai people had always accepted and prized. While there was nodding agreement that Thai children growing up in this age would need to be intellectually curious, experimental, creative, enterprising and practical, the teachers were mindful of how such children were going to retain the grace, respect, reserve and self-effacement esteemed by Thai people. However, the leadership in the Ministry made it clear that far from seeking to introduce "alien" manners, it was their intention to incorporate into Thai culture those "universal" approaches to life that would benefit Thai people. By the same token, there was firm determination to prepare for technological advancement and at the same time to preserve the humanistic, aesthetic, and spiritual pursuits which have inspired Thai people to arrive at their own deep feelings and fundamental meanings, be it for the past, the present or the future.

New Ways of Working

Prachataphatai (*democracy*) as a value in Thai culture was gaining strong expression as a directive for ways of working in education. Not only were the children assuming dynamic roles, but school personnel at all levels of the administrative ladder were emerging as

leaders and active participants in policy making. As a centralized national system of education, it had been customary for the Ministry of Education to dispatch regulations concerning school procedures to the districts, to be followed as issued. More and more, the point of view of Ministry officials was that the local districts, the faculties of individual schools and the local citizenry should assume responsibility for discovering ways to improve the education of their children. In-service teacher activities—workshops, conferences and study groups planned by the local districts and assisted by resource persons from the Ministry became common occurrences.

There is a new recognition of the teacher. A young, first grade teacher, who does not have a high civil service rank, but who has good ideas and is accomplishing much with her children may now be asked to serve as the discussion leader or demonstration teacher at a conference, rather than a principal or teacher with many stripes on his uniform because of his rank or seniority in the civil service. In fact, stripes and uniforms are being left at home except for formal occasions. Ideas, actions and accomplishments count, and it is recognized that everyone is needed to get the best accomplished.

The communities are feeling the effects of the changing schools. The farmer, the merchant, the fisherman or the craftsman along with the priest are being invited to take part in the activities of the school—to plan for improving facilities, to see what their children are learning, to share their personal experiences with the children, to work with the school personnel and other agency leaders in community betterment projects.

Parent groups build schoolhouses, assist children with projects at home, and take pride in having a school which receives them and helps them with their problems. They come to the school to see the school nurse about their children's health or to ask the agricultural teacher about farm problems, or to use the shop to repair a boat or a farm tool. They are interested in how well their children learn. They made themselves heard not long ago when they wanted to know how phonics was being taught. The new attractive basal reader for beginners omitted the pages of phonics and alphabet study which the parents had faced when they went to school. The newspapers were filled with the queries of the parents. Teachers were questioned in the marketplace and on the road, by parents who wanted to know.

The growing influence of the school upon the home life of the children was shown dramatically in the province of Chachoengsao soon after the school architect initiated a way to paint the dark weather-beaten classroom walls with an inexpensive, locally produced, tempera mixture in pastel shades. The attractive splashes of colors on the shutters of the schoolhouse started a chain reaction of home beautification. Home projects led to tilapia fish ponds at home to supplement the family diet, improved cooking arrangements, protected water supplies, gardening and fruit plots in addition to the rice farm, etc.

Several other notable programs have been established, to promote a full-scale modification of the standard of living in Thailand. A vocational institute was opened in Bangkok with branches in other parts of the kingdom to which boys and girls can go for technical training as

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GORDON N. MACKENZIE

Education in India

Education is being developed in India with firmness and foresight as one of the means of lifting a people within a generation to new levels of human dignity and responsibility.

EDUCATION in India today can be better understood when viewed in relation to a complex background of social, political and economic conditions. Just a few of these will be mentioned to provide an orientation for the later comments descriptive of the educational program.

Education in India has strong marks of its English ancestry. Introduced initially to provide clerks and other government servants who would facilitate the British operation in India, the educational program did not keep pace with subsequent educational development in England. As a transplanted, foreign system of education, it tended to exist in splendid isolation from the dynamics and problems of Indian life. It had neither received the stimulus of Indian life and culture, nor helped learners relate to the intense problems of living which surrounded them. The gap between school and life, which was abrupt and disorienting for the learner, extended to social ideals and orientation, to literature, to history and to the medium of instruction. The school might be viewed as an escape from the worldly noise and confusion of pressing problems.

The methods of instruction have tended to stifle individuality. Memoriter learning buttressed by an examination system which removed all evaluation responsibility from teachers fostered a cramping narrowness rather than a release of individual creativity. Uniformity, rigidity and bookishness had rather completely stifled meaning and purpose, both of which are central to sound education. Interest, curiosity and joyous enthusiasm became rare indeed.

While India has supported a very large population for thousands of years and has been exploited by many invaders, it is essentially an underdeveloped country. Natural resources have not been tapped or organized for use. Industrialization has been stifled and annual per capita income has been less than $60 per person. Variations in price levels make unwise a direct comparison with the United States, but $60 per person means that the great mass of the Indians are forced to live at very inadequate levels.

As a matter of government policy, priority is now being given to the development of agriculture and the provision of adequate food supplies, the development of heavy and machine tool industry, the creation of power resources and the development of transportation. These are the basic essentials in an economic development which will make possible

the support of education for all at the elementary level as is promised by the constitution. However, India is faced with an exploding population. Thus, in spite of gains in all sectors of economic and educational development the total problem remains very large.

The people of India are quite aware of their relative world-wide position in respect to living conditions. There are evidences of great restlessness as well as of tremendous effort to change the way of life and to bring better standards of health and of material welfare to all of the people. Education is seen as an important aid in attaining a new way of life, but it must take its place as part of a planned effort to create improved conditions of learning on a broad and substantial base.

Education in the Current Scene

There is no aspect of education which has not felt the drive for reform since independence. At all levels education is being mobilized to serve the new India now being built. Reforms, started while the British were still in India, have taken on new dimensions and assumed new urgency. However, India is seeking to build on its rich traditions and ancient achievements as it produces a better life for all its people.

Education in India is under control of the 14 states. While the national government has a large leadership assignment in education, the states by constitution have a prime responsibility. This results in some differences in the program and pattern of education from state to state.

In most of the Indian states there is one predominant language group different from that in other states. General policy provides that each child shall be taught in his mother tongue. The state language, when different from the mother tongue, is usually introduced early in the elementary school years. Hindi, which by constitution is to become the national language, may well be different from the mother tongue and the state language. It too must be given a place in the program. For those few who reach the secondary school, English is once again being viewed as important preparation for higher education. Thus, the language burden in Indian schools is exceedingly heavy.

Elementary Education

Before independence, and through Gandhi's leadership, India embarked upon a reorganization of its elementary schools. The new program is craft and community centered with much correlation of the academic areas with education for work and with problems of community living. These changes have tended to make education more active, to relate school to life and to introduce potentials for the creative development of individuals.

India's elementary schools are at various stages in respect to their acceptance of basic education. As in any society, schools vary enormously in their attainment of the generally accepted ideal. Yet, in school after school there is evidence of a new ferment and a vitality which ultimately should give greatly increased meaning and significance to the earliest years of schooling.

Slightly more than half of the children 6 to 11 years of age are now enrolled in school. However, the wastage or drop-

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out rate is high. Hence it is doubtful if one half of the children have the opportunities inherent in a full five year primary or junior basic school. Great effort is being made to reduce wastage and the third five year plan provides that over 60 percent of the children, age 6 to 11, shall be in school by 1961. Developments are, of course, uneven among the states and girls are less favored educationally than boys.

Secondary Education

Approximately 20 percent of the 11 to 14 year age group are enrolled in middle or senior basic schools and about 10 percent of the 14 to 17 year olds are in high school. At these levels, slight increases in the percentages enrolled are being attained from year to year.

At the secondary level, however, a major reform in program is under way. A six year higher secondary school is being developed to provide an eleven year span of elementary and secondary education to replace the present ten year system which is common throughout much of India. The eleventh year is to be taken away from the intermediate classes of the degree colleges and attached to the secondary schools. The way is thus opened for a three year collegiate program following the secondary school and leading to a degree.

This change in structure and organization is not nearly as significant as the accompanying curriculum modifications. The present academic secondary school, as provided in the proposal of the Mudaliar Commission, is to become a multipurpose school with a core of common learnings and special programs in home science, agriculture, technology, commerce and the arts. Thus it will have much in common with the comprehensive secondary school in the United States. Technical and vocational schools at the secondary level are not extensively developed.

In the colleges, specialized academic programs are being broadened by the introduction of general education, and professional colleges, especially in medicine and engineering, are being expanded. Polytechnic and vocational institutions of post-secondary standard are gradually coming into being. A small number of rural institutes have been created. They have some features of American community colleges but are closely related to the problems of rural living. As at the secondary level, a national commission on higher education has very ably studied existing programs and charted future directions.

Teacher Education

Teacher education follows a pattern quite different from ours in that it tends to come after general education as well as after entrance upon teaching. For the secondary level teacher, professional preparation tends to be provided in a separate one year course following the Bachelor's degree and after three to five or more years of teaching. Teachers in elementary schools usually have considerably less academic preparation. Most teacher preparing institutions are small, enrolling 100 or more and frequently are separate from, even if affiliated with, a larger higher institution. As a result of the small size of units there are many hundred teacher training institutions.

Salaries of teachers tend to be very low thus creating a problem of securing a sufficient number of well qualified teachers in spite of high unemployment among educated youth. There are large numbers of untrained teachers in some

states and standards of preparation vary considerably.

Universities in India may be residential and teaching institutions much like ours. Often they are affiliating agencies which serve in a sense to accredit or give status to university work which may be done at widely dispersed locations. While there has been a considerable expansion in all types of higher education in India, major efforts and resources have been focused on expanding work in the sciences, and particularly in engineering, to prepare the workers required for the industrialization being planned.

Education for adults has been labeled social education and has focused not only on literacy but also on the improving of personal and community living. Probably well over 40,000 centers have been established to further social education.

The Task Ahead

It is thus clear that India faces a tremendous and an almost overwhelming problem of educating close to 400,000,000 people. Much of the task remains to be done. Obviously the numbers being educated must be increased. Also, the quality of education is receiving increasing attention. In many instances, kinds of education not formerly available must be created to deal with new problems.

There is a considerable measure of excitement about educational development in India. Promising innovations of many types are emerging. Relations between education and the vast community development program are being carefully fostered. The National Institute of Basic Education and the All India Council for Basic Education are conducting studies of basic education problems and programs including the preparation of teachers. Extensive in-service programs are being fostered by the All India Council for Secondary Education through the secondary teacher training colleges.

The system of external examinations which has served to smother and render sterile education at both collegiate and secondary levels is being dealt with creatively. By focusing on the development of examinations for new types of objectives, by preparing teachers to construct examinations for new types of objectives, and by granting teachers some slight authority to participate in the grading of students, a frontal attack is being made on objectives, and on the curriculum, as well as on the examination system.

New types of instruction are being developed for rural leadership, for agricultural education, and for the education of women in home science. Increased attention is being given to the handicapped, to education for social work and to medical education. The All India Council for Technical Education is vigorously approaching its task of expanding programs of vocational and engineering education and of securing the instructional staff required to carry these programs.

The absence of local government as we know it, has retarded the involvement of parents in school programs. However, there are many forces at work and many examples at hand of their involvement in one way or another.

Education is being nurtured and developed in India with firmness and foresight as one of the essential means of helping to lift a people within a generation to new levels of human dignity and responsibility. The directions of growth have been carefully established, and progress to date is most encouraging.

HUGH B. WOOD [1]

Development of Education in Nepal

Improved schooling in Nepal is a result of cooperative planning at many levels.

THE MOUNTAIN kingdom of Nepal lies astride the backbone of the Himalayas. Stretching 500 miles northwest-southeast, from Kashmir nearly to Burma, it separates Tibet and India by approximately 100 miles of rugged, snow-capped mountains, precipitous gorges and valleys that make up the foothills, and low-lying flat lands that are part of the Gangetic plains on the south. The natural features of the country have served to promote, first, an internal isolation of the various groups of people among themselves, and, second, an isolation from the outside world.

It was not until the 18th century that unification efforts brought any semblance of national cohesion; even today, without modern transportation and communication facilities, this isolation of many sections of Nepal is one of the major handicaps to rapid development. Many of the hinterlands are 20 to 30 days removed from the capital.

It was largely because of the design of the ruling dynasty of prime ministers from 1846 to 1951 that Nepal remained aloof from the rest of the world during this period of development in the west. Isolation provided stability and security; contacts with other countries would have upset the medieval system of controls. Nevertheless, the pressures resulting from India's freedom, the Communist invasion of Tibet, and the return of thousands of world-wise Gurkha soldiers to their villages following World War II, contributed to a successful overthrow of the Rana regime in 1951. Since that time, the King and his supporters have been attempting to develop a democratic form of government. The first country-wide elections are being held as this goes to press.

Prior to 1951, education in Nepal was practically nonexistent. There were six high schools, four of which were in the central Kathmandu valley. There was one small college in the capital. It is estimated that there may have been about 100 primary schools, but many of these were little more than tutoring classes. Education was discouraged, even prohibited except for sons of the government officials.

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[1] This article was approved for release December 31, 1958, by Randhir Subba, Minister of Education, His Majesty's Government of Nepal.

But as one pundit has put it, "There was a great thirst for knowledge." By 1954, there were 1200 primary schools, 83 high schools, and 14 new colleges! These sprang up largely through local initiative, totally without professional supervision, and with only meager financial support.

A New Plan

Early in 1954, the Minister of Education appointed a 46-man National Education Planning Commission,[2] which, sitting for a full year, surveyed existing educational trends and mapped out a master plan for education in Nepal. The Commission's report, *Education in Nepal*,[3] is the basis for educational developments since 1954 and for the program here outlined.[4]

The Commission's plan establishes four major goals: (a) five years of universal primary education within 25 years; (b) multipurpose secondary education for about 20 percent of the nation's youth, and at least one high school in every one of the 32 political districts within ten years; (c) a national residential university within five years, and some form of higher education for about 5 percent of the youth within ten years; (d) adult education (including literacy) for all who desire it within 15 years.

Primary schools are to be coeducational and open to all, regardless of creed or caste. An attempt will be made to develop functional literacy, national and civic consciousness, and general vocational readiness within the five-year period. For some time, primary education will be terminal for most children.

The curriculum for this group has been planned by the staff of the Demonstration School and the College of Education. It is based on a survey of needs of children of Nepalese villages, but also provides for the pupils who will go on to high school. The core centers around three basic areas: Clothing Ourselves, Feeding Ourselves, and Housing Ourselves. The skills—mother tongue, mathematics, and general vocational skills—are integrated around the core. Broad units have been developed which take the pupils from their own environment—Life on the Plains, Life in the Valley, or Life in the Mountains, as the case may be—to that of other parts of the country, the continent, and then the world. The curriculum also includes many experiences in nature study, local science, health and sanitation, and culture—music, folkdancing, folklore, literature, drama, and art.

The need for multipurpose or comprehensive secondary education has been recognized. Agriculture and home science are the basic vocational needs, but other skills will be provided for as needed. For example, the capital and several industrial centers will be able to support commercial and industrial education departments. It is hoped that many high schools will offer courses in primary school teaching (as the need exceeds the capacities of the present normal schools), nursing, health (for local level public health specialists), and college preparation, as well as pro-

[2] On which the author served as Educational Advisor.

[3] Copies of *Education in Nepal* are available from The American-Nepal Education Foundation, Box 5111, Eugene, Oregon, at $6.00.

[4] The development of education in Nepal has benefited from the absence of firmly established patterns, which might compete with new and practical patterns which are based on analyses of indigenous needs. The program presented here ignores existing patterns, which, because educational efforts in the past have been so limited, will have very little influence on educational development during the years ahead.

PHOTO COURTESY THE AUTHOR

A primary class in Nepal.

fessional work in agriculture and home science to develop local level workers.

The high school curriculum (a five-year program) provides a common core of subjects for general education—social education, science, skills, culture—but of necessity is departmentalized to meet the various vocational needs. High school will be terminal for the majority who attend, and will have as its major purpose the preparation of youth for life in the local community. English, commonly used and required in the colleges, will be an optional subject in the high school curriculum.

High school teachers hope to give up the terminal examination to provide more freedom in methods and to make the curriculum more practical and functional. The first step is to shift it to the colleges as an entrance examination and the substitution of more realistic measures of achievement at the secondary school level.

Climate plays no small role in education in Nepal. Because it is generally mild, many primary schools meet under a spreading pipul tree, on the steps of a temple, or in a bamboo-thatched hut. High schools may be found in thatched buildings. Glass is seldom used, or local community pride and use, will be housed in substantial brick or stone buildings. Glass is seldom used, or needed, in the windows.

In the hills, schools usually are in session from 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., during the warm part of the day. On the plains, schools operate from daylight until 10:00 a.m. to escape the intense heat of the day. There are many holidays, but schools meet 5½ or 6 days a week in order

PHOTO COURTESY THE AUTHOR

An old school building—Pokhara High School, Nepal.

to satisfy the 200 days-per-year requirement of the government. A two months vacation comes in January and February in the hills, in May and June on the plains.

Status of Teachers

The Nepalese teacher has a mixed status. In some rural communities, he may hold a position of prominence—first-aid expert, member of the village council, scribe, magistrate, and general confessor and advisor to all. In other villages, and particularly in larger communities, the teacher has no special status. In no case does he have a very favorable economic status. The pay of a primary school teacher often is as low or lower than a common laborer; if he has been professionally trained in the newly established normal schools, he may receive twice as much. A high school teacher receives the same as a government clerk of similar qualifications, or less. In most instances the teacher has to augment his salary by private tutoring, often doubling or tripling his income.

The typical primary school teacher will have had four to six or eight years of schooling, or may be a retired Gurkha soldier. The typical high school teacher will be a high school graduate and may have gone to college for a year or two.

Although professional organizations are being formed, little attention has yet been given to fringe benefits and retirement plans. A few teachers, who teach in schools entirely supported by the central government, will share in a modest pension plan for all government workers.

Education in Nepal is to be administered, supervised, and financed on a national-regional-local basis. The Min-

istry of Education is responsible for all education. The country has been divided into seven supervisory zones, each with an inspector and several sub-inspectors. Local "managing committees" or school boards are being encouraged, and each school has a head teacher or headmaster. In practice, initiative and finance flow both ways. Many schools are started by local initiative and finance and later receive help from the regional and central authorities; at the same time, the central government encourages the opening and development of schools through financial grants. Eventually, it is hoped that primary education will be financed entirely by local efforts, secondary education will be jointly financed, and higher education will be provided by the central government.

In conclusion, certain characteristics of education in Nepal stand out:

1. There had been practically no organized education prior to 1951.

2. The present plans have evolved through group study and action, with the assistance of professional resource persons.

3. This planning has not been handicapped by traditions, customs, and established patterns.

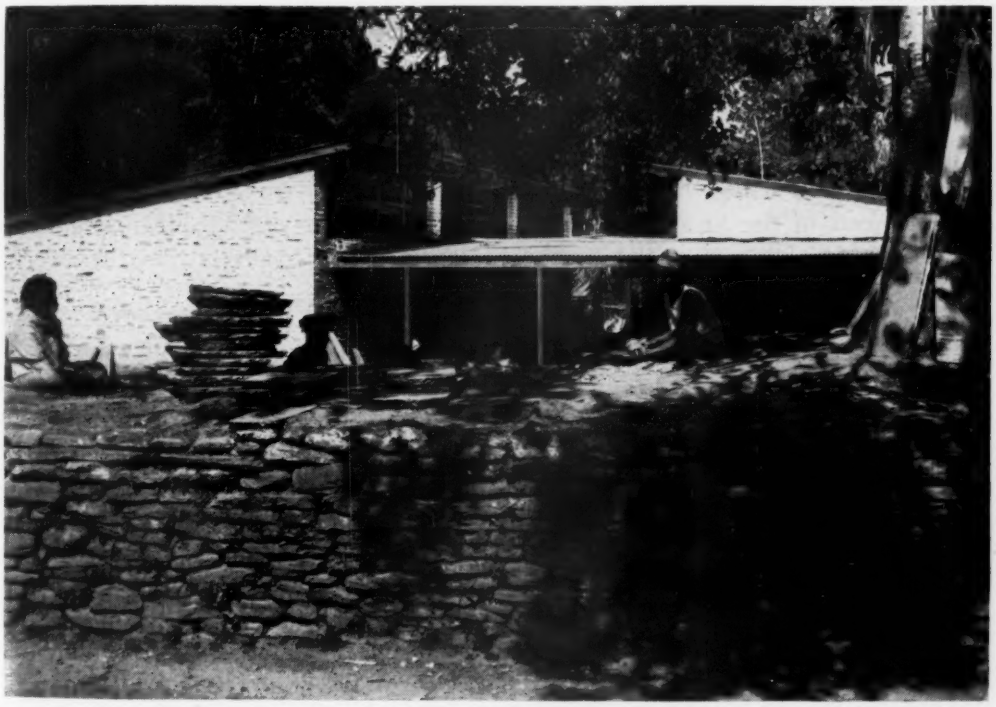
4. The resulting program is based on the indigenous needs of the people served; it preserves, expands, and adapts the cultural values of an old civilization to the modern world.

5. The program is flexible, so that it can pace other developments in the country.

6. There is a firm belief that education is essential to the democratic way of life, to which the country is dedicated, and that education is the *first step* in the development of the country.

A new primary school, Nepal.

PHOTO COURTESY THE AUTHOR



KENNETH D. WANN

Cultural Values and Learning in Afghanistan

In modernizing their educational system, the people of Afghanistan are striving toward consistent emphasis upon the enduring elements of their own culture.

IN AFGHANISTAN, as in many other countries, it is difficult to epitomize cultural values by descriptions of educational practices. The lag between practice and valued cultural goals is particularly noticeable at this period in Afghanistan's development. Moving from a tradition of isolation from the outside world to a period of greatly increased communication with other nations in a relatively few decades the Afghan people have experienced marked changes in almost every department of life. It is not surprising that they find their educational aspirations far ahead of the school practices. These differences can best be seen in the historical perspective of the development of the country.

For centuries Afghanistan was the crossroads for some of the great civilizations of the world. Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, the Mogul Conquerors of India all scaled her passes and conquered her cities. The great silk caravans regularly traversed her borders in their travels from the Orient to Europe. Each period and each horde of invaders left its imprint on the country. In the numerous isolated valleys high in the rugged mountains which characterize much of the terrain of Afghanistan, reside tribes which even today evidence the distinctive ethnic characteristics of certain of the invading groups. At one time Afghanistan was the center of Buddhist culture. Later conquerors were Moslems who converted the country to the Moslem religion.

Afghanistan was not united under one king until 1737 when Nadir Shah of Persia conquered it. His successor Ahmad Shah, the first Afghan King, brought to Afghanistan its first real semblance of unity. This was only nominal since the mountain people continued to give allegiance to a tribal system of government. Even today the tribal system persists and the lower house of Parliament is made up largely of the chiefs of the tribes.

Place of the Teacher

Tribal loyalties along with the rugged terrain which defies easy communication and travel between sections of the country have tended to keep the people isolated. Life in the tribal villages was simple. Education of the young in the skills of farming and sheepherding and family chores was taken care of by the individual families. Few people could read or write. The mullah or priest because of his ability to read the Koran

and to write was an important person in village life. He served as scribe to those who occasionally needed this service. He was physician to the sick whom he treated with simple nostrums or with amulets containing quotations from the Koran. Because the Moslem religion requires all males to have some knowledge of Koranic law and prayers he was the village schoolmaster.

The Koran was the textbook and boys were taught by rote the religious laws and prayers. The more able boys whose families could do without their services at home for longer periods were taught to read the Koran and were given lessons in mathematics and history. The religious instruction by the few mullah schools was the only type of formal education offered to children in much of Afghanistan well into the twentieth century. The mullah school is still a familiar sight in many villages, a system of private tutoring developed for the sons of wealthy families.

The status of women in the Moslem religion was such that no provision was made for the education of girls outside of the home until very recently. There are a growing number of primary and secondary schools for girls and some interest in higher education for women, though compared to education for boys, girls' education is lagging. According to figures published by UNESCO in 1949 less than one percent of Afghan girls were in school.

Another factor in the isolation of the people was the role Afghanistan has played as a buffer state between Russia and English territory in the Middle East. In 1842 Afghanistan succeeded in decisively defeating the British army and the British were expelled from Afghan soil. This was a proud day in Afghan history and for many years memorial lights have burned each night on the hills above Kabul commemorating this victory. The British continued, however, to keep close watch over Afghan relations with Russia and other nations. Later skirmishes with the British were not so favorable for the Afghans. In order to maintain her independence, which has been a source of great pride to her people, Afghanistan closed her borders to foreigners and viewed with great suspicion any interest by foreign nations. Changes in the international situation following the First World War freed her somewhat from this tension and there has been an increasing amount of intercommunication with other nations. Rigid adherence to a policy of neutrality, however, has characterized Afghanistan's relations with the western powers.

The beginnings of publicly supported education in Afghanistan reflect the goals of the period. Education was viewed as a steppingstone to government positions and as preparation for foreign travel and study. The curriculum of the schools was developed with these ends in mind. University education in Afghanistan is a relatively new development. The sons of wealthy Afghan families were sent abroad for their higher education. Necessary preparation for this foreign study included learning the language in which instruction would be given and becoming acquainted with the literature and history of the country to be visited. Early in this period most young men were sent to France, Germany, or England. Interest in studying in the United States developed later.

An interesting phenomenon of the de-

KENNETH D. WANN is professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

velopment of Afghan secondary education was the early establishment of four separate secondary schools in the capital city, each of which prepared boys for study in one of these countries. The French high school gave instruction in French. Teachers and textbooks were imported from France and the content of the curriculum emphasized French history and culture. In the same way, the cultures of Germany, England, and the United States respectively were emphasized in the other schools. Very little emphasis was given to things Afghan.

It is natural with the interest in European education and the influence of government officials who had studied abroad that the establishment of public primary or elementary schools would be influenced by the European system. A distinct European flavor characterizes primary education as well as secondary education in Afghanistan. The content of the many subjects taught, the system of yearly examinations from the first grade through college, the concept of pedagogy all reflect this influence. It is to be expected that village people would see little value for their children in this kind of education. They have little interest in sending their children to school. This lack of interest along with the need for entire families to work at farming the small, poor farms accounts for the fact that less than ten percent of Afghan boys are enrolled in schools. This lack of motivation for formal schooling poses a problem which the government must face if it is to upgrade the educational level of the country. Many Afghan educational leaders and teachers have recognized for some time the inadequacy of an educational system that superimposes the values of foreign cultures onto people who have vastly different cultural mores and needs.

A New Emphasis

In a report developed jointly by American educational consultants and Afghan leaders attention was called to this problem.

> It seems to us that the dominant aim of all formal education in Afghanistan today, as it actually works out in practice, is further formal education. Success or failure is measured . . . in terms of passing examinations which admit to the next higher class. Thus the educative process tends to become its own justification—an end in itself. It need have no direct or vital relationship to the quality of living outside the school; indeed, it may and we think often does, "educate" away from life as it should be lived in Afghanistan. . . .[1]

The emphasis today is on the development of a distinctly Afghan system of education—a system that will contribute to the welfare and growth of a nation emerging from a long period of isolation and underdevelopment. It is recognized that the changes necessary to bring this about are many and that the process will be slow. In 1956, The Ministry of Education set forth its first 25-year development plan.

The plan calls for a number of important changes and additions. There is to be a steady increase in the number of primary schools for boys and girls. Primary education will be terminal education for most boys and girls in Afghanistan. Less than five percent of primary school students go on to secondary schools. For many years to come, emphasis is being placed on making primary education more closely related to life in the villages. Attention is being given to instruction in better farming and

[1] Columbia University Teachers College Team, *First Six Months Report*, October 1954. p. 4-5.

(Continued on page 454)

The Importance of People

Column Editor: Fred T. Wilhelms
Contributor: Hilda Taba

As this copy was sent to the printer, Dr. Taba was on her way home from a year in São Paulo, Brazil, where she has been teaching at the University. Speaking more strictly, she was slowly returning to San Francisco State College and sent ahead this missive from some beach in Mexico where "with a gin tonica" she was "preparing to be lonesome for the warm, talkative Latins."

FRED T. WILHELMS

Teaching Is a Many-Splendored Thing

SOME things one learns and then learns over again with a sharp realization of a new significance. What teaching is all about has been such a thing to me. Over and over again some pertinent principles, long familiar, assume a new light and a new reality. I had always proceeded on the assumption that one teaches people as well as content, that one needs to change feelings and ways of thinking alongside developing new ideas and absorbing new facts. If these two do not meet, teaching is an empty gesture. This year, teaching in Brazil, this realization came sharply again, and became a daily experience.

My job was to teach foundations of education and curriculum development to a group of about 30 educational specialists in Latin America. As a consequence of an experiment in a field workshop for teachers, a course in group leadership was added during the second term. The participants came from seven Latin American countries in addition to Brazil, and were brought together by UNESCO and the Brazilian government as a part of a Major Project in Improving Education in South America. The group was highly heterogeneous in experience and in academic background. There were teachers, normal school directors, school administrators, and technicians from the state departments of education. Some had only finished the normal school—an equivalent of twelfth grade—others had university degrees. They spoke two different languages, neither of which I had mastered in the beginning. Only five understood English. Translation was necessary all the way through and sometimes a two-way translation—from English to Portuguese, and from Portuguese to Spanish—was needed. Not a very promising prospect for teaching much or profoundly!

Improvement of Practice

The aim of the project is not just educational enlightenment, but a realistic improvement of educational practices. As I contemplated the group and my task of teaching something that was useful and that stood a chance of in-

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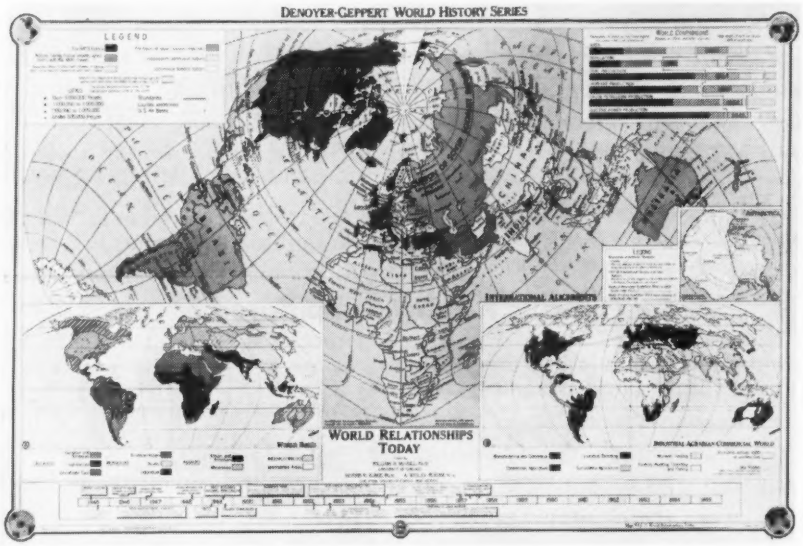

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fluencing educational practice, I was acutely aware of the dangers of indiscriminate cultural borrowing, be it of ideas or techniques. Practices and ideas that may be extremely useful in the United States, under different conditions may be useless at the best, and harmful at the worst.

I became aware of a vast distance between what I was prepared to teach and what my students needed to learn. What, for example, was useful to teach about curriculum development under conditions which included school systems where children attended school in three shifts a day, of two and a half hours each? (This was true of the state of São Paulo, for shortage of school buildings, and not of teachers.) What should one teach about child development, learning and the selecting of learning activities to people whose chief concept of teaching was assigning lessons from a book, often without any explanation, and then examining the children the next day? (Those who could afford it hired tutors to teach the children at home.) Should one insinuate anything about integration of content when the programs and the texts consisted of a rather scattered, disconnected subject matter on such topics as definitions of forms of government and classification of plants? What can be conveyed about individual differences to people in school systems with state-wide examinations at the end of the first grade, which over half of the children failed; where still fewer could pass the entrance examination into the gymnasium? Thus continued the questions regarding selection of content to teach.

Then, of course, there were the people. How did their minds tick? What could they perceive and accept? What new ways of teaching could they understand

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without any concrete models? There were a few signs of suspicion about any importation from the United States. They had had much from us that was not too valid, including soft drinks and bubble gum. The simplicity of the inductive development of ideas offered in the course, lacked the aura of philosophical respectability to some who were used to "aulas" consisting of highly ponderous verbal abstractions. They themselves expressed both opinions and ideas with the firm absolutism of a final truth, and hot arguments developed when the truths voiced by different people did not coincide. It was extremely difficult to develop reasoning from causes to consequences. My questions of "why" and "wherefore" seemed to annoy them. A mighty big definition seemed to solve any problem better than any amount of analysis of causes and consequences. In other words, the empirical thinking on which was based the very structure of ideas I was stressing was a total stranger. It was extremely hard to pull out concrete illustrations. There was, for example, a lot of talk about "global education," but try and find out what they meant by it! Many propounded about integration of the individual into the society, but not a hint as to what one should do to accomplish this!

There were difficulties also on the score of work habits and skills. I could not see conducting a class without discussion, even though discussion via translation was extremely difficult. The first attempt nearly floored me. No one cared about the focus for discussion. Ideas and opinions ranged far and wide of the topic. At the slightest controversy, everyone talked at the same time—there was bedlam, and no one listened to anyone else. How to get disciplined and productive discussion?

A Beginning

But the main problem was to develop active learning and active thinking on their own problems of education. Pencils were poised for taking notes on lectures, but the first assignment on analyzing and criticizing the objectives of their programs was met with an incredulous stare. Analysis? Criticism? What did the "professora" want? How many pages would she require? What was analysis anyway?

And so it went in the beginning.

After some fumbling, a pattern of teaching began to evolve to meet all these problems. The first item in that pattern was to select very carefully the most crucial things to teach, and to limit the coverage very strictly. Time was short and teaching through translation more than doubles the time needed to teach anything. The second item was to teach each new technique or idea in a threefold cycle: first, develop some pertinent principles with which to think; then, in small groups, to discuss these, supplying some concrete illustrations; and finally, either in discussion or in individual papers, to apply what they had learned.

For example, in treating the selection of learning activities, students first examined some of their own texts and programs and described what their students learned and how they learned it. Then the criteria for desirable learning activities were presented. With these they reexamined the programs. Then, to provide a new model, a unit with a full sequence of learning activities was carefully examined, developing the theoretical reasons for each activity. After that the students observed a laboratory class taught by two competent teachers who had just returned from the United States. Finally, each was asked to re-plan that portion of the teaching procedure which he had

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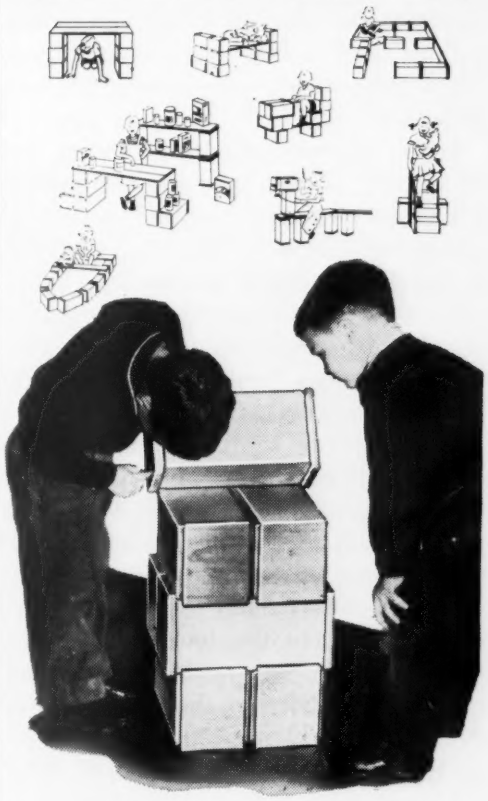

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chosen for criticism. There were many opportunities for working in small groups, and many discussions about which procedures were productive and which not.

Some aid was also forthcoming. In the middle of the year we acquired a laboratory class. In September two scholarship students who had been studying in the United States returned, and the class could see some very modern teaching. An inspectors' seminar, with its discussion sessions, became a laboratory for the group process class.

The response to this treatment was amazing. It reaffirmed my faith in the human capacity to learn and to change, provided there is sincere and fairly skilled teaching. Discussions became quite productive, and "saida do foco" (departure from the focus) became a kind of crime. Starting from an almost complete passivity, at the end each developed a fairly respectable individual project, on some aspect of curriculum development, teaching, or the use of group procedures. Many worked on patterns of diagnosing needs, for which techniques in South America are almost non existent. It was a joy to see the group labor at developing and using the new tools: a different manner of thinking, systematic patterns of analysis, and a creative application of both criticism and analysis. Most surprising was the fact that in the final evaluation there were requests for extending the very features which were the newest and which at first were so unwelcome: more time for application of the methods of curriculum development; greater stress on human relations in the group itself, and as a technique of working with groups; an earlier start for the individual project, and of independent reading and discussion in small groups; above all, a warm gratitude for having found a "new way."

—Hilda Taba, *professor of education, San Francisco State College, California.*

Learning in Thailand

(Continued from page 424)

machinists, electricians, printers, dietitians, etc. A teachers college was organized in Bangkok to provide special education for school administrators and supervisors, offering evening classes and graduate work. With increased funds and an adequate corps of highly trained leaders in a wide array of specialties, the communities of Thailand are slated to have many better opportunities to realize the advantages which the modern age can provide.

Education in Thailand is strongly guided by the deep cultural values in the Thai heritage. Cultural values, however, are not fixed. There are emerging certain new values which are the products of the times. These new values are having their effects upon the goals, methods and content of education. They are inducing changes in the ways in which Thai people think, feel and act.

It has been part of the history of the Thai people to seek a flexibility and astuteness in embracing the developments in the world which may best protect them and enable them to live in strength, respect and independence. They are continuing to be cautiously selective and sensitively adaptive. They, as many other people now in the process of building their nation's human and material wealth, are tapping world-wide experiences and resources and are seeking the best from any source; by this process they are likely to profit more in this search than will countries which feel that they have already arrived.

Curriculum News

Column Editor: Paul R. Klohr

CAPCI—An On-Going Program

THE ASCD national conference in Cincinnati last month illustrated in many ways how the Cooperative Action Program for Curriculum Improvement is giving added emphasis to certain major efforts of state units and to the work of committees and commissions within the organization. In so doing, CAPCI is verifying three hunches President William Alexander expressed in his editorial in the February issue of this journal—namely, that the number of persons actively involved in ASCD's activities will increase; that state, regional, and local units will develop varied projects directly related to the central purpose of curriculum improvement; and that commissions, committees, and staff members will develop improved methods of communicating with the membership and other groups.

No one looking in on the Wednesday morning clinics devoted to the state units at work could help but be impressed with the increasing vigor which characterizes the work of these organizations. The committee and commission meetings reflected the same spirit.

To cite but one illustration: the Commission on Core Teaching is at work on a project to determine the extent to which core programs are achieving some of the major values held to be important in modern education. Four questions are being asked: How effective are core programs (a) in developing skills, techniques, and attitudes involved in critical thinking? (b) in helping students develop consistent value systems? (c) in developing skills and understandings for social living? and (d) in fostering the fullest development of students' personalities?

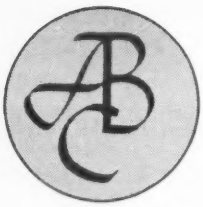
Members of the commission are collating existing research in each of the areas represented by these questions and are identifying the assumptions for core curriculum which underlie each. They will then involve selected schools directly in curriculum experimentation and will collect data to evaluate the results.

This effort of the Core Commission is laying fundamental groundwork for further developments in one of the large problem areas of CAPCI—evaluation of learning.

The CAPCI Committee, itself, in consultation with ASCD members has developed the outlines of major projects in the other two problem areas—providing for individual differences and reaching toward a balanced program. These documents are to be used not only to solicit support from sources outside of the organization, but also, to help state units and various committees and commissions relate their on-going work to a coordinated program for action when it makes sense to do so.

Project Proposals

Space here does not permit a full review of these two project proposals, but readers will be interested in seeing their



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general nature. For example, the one which proposes a study of experimental procedures for individualizing instruction assumes that the need is more crucial than ever to center instruction in school on the individual in the group setting. It further assumes that *many approaches,* not one, are required for solution of the implied problems. An analysis of the returns from the questionnaire to ASCD members regarding procedures they are currently following to provide for greater individualization of the curriculum supports this assumption.

The proposal then develops the proposition that a promising solution to the problem lies in the school helping students learn how to teach themselves, or learning how to learn. The new ASCD yearbook, *Learning and the Teacher* underscores the soundness of this proposition.

To give concrete illustrations of four places schools interested in participating in the study might take hold to develop their own curriculum solutions to the problem, the proposal suggests four categories of procedures: (a) the "saturated" learning environment, (b) guided exploration, (c) enrichment-acceleration and (d) flexible grouping.

The categories, by design, do not include ability grouping and acceleration. It is assumed that both of these, which are currently being given widespread consideration, involve mainly the manipulation of groups as contrasted with a clear concern for the individual. It is further assumed that the advantages and limitations of both approaches are rather widely understood and that major effort should now be given to the testing out of other promising approaches.

The second project is titled "A Proposal for Developing and Testing Criteria for a Balanced Curriculum." The

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major focus in this proposal is on curriculum improvement to achieve a balanced program.

As ASCD moves ahead with an action program in this problem area, the kinds of issues identified in the original proposal for CAPCI should begin to be resolved. Three such issues, readers may recall, are: (a) In what curriculum areas should all children and youth have experience? How much experience, in terms of years and percentage of time in school? (b) What curriculum areas should be considered as specialized education, for limited participation at some or all levels? On what criteria should the participation (or choice) in these areas be decided? (c) Can better balance in the curriculum be provided by such means as variable class size, different lengths of class periods and of the school day, television courses, summer school programs, and other administrative adaptations?

—Paul R. Klohr, *assistant dean and coordinator of instructional program, College of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus.*

Learning in Japan

(Continued from page 418)

fifth and sixth grades, homemaking. In addition they have "extracurricular" activities in science, music, art, or sports (especially baseball). Similar subjects are required in the lower secondary schools; vocational subjects, homemaking and a foreign language are elective. Large numbers of students elect English.

Music, primarily western, and art are taught in *every* Japanese school. No one regards these areas as frills. The high value placed upon the arts may stem from a time honored philosophy which, according to Sano, "required the cultivation of an art of quiet but deep appreciation for all the good and the beautiful in the natural and human environment. . . . One's ability and talent, according to this view, were a trust from Heaven, to the development of which one must devote one's relentless efforts." [7] At any rate, on holidays and Sundays, children of all ages can be seen outdoors drawing and painting. Lower and upper secondary school pupils, with scores in hand, flock to symphony concerts, ballets, and operas.

Teaching methods and curricular organizations are as varied as in this country. Unit study is common in correlated or fused programs, though many teachers encounter difficulties because of the large numbers of pupils in their classes. Audio-visual aids, both teacher- and pupil-made, as well as commercial aids, are used throughout the country. Many schools are now using TV as a resource for learning.

In the future, as in the past, the Japanese people will expect their schools to provide an educated citizenry. Modifications in the educational program will occur, as educators go on learning from their own and others' experiences. Change, however, will follow a complex pattern; for, as Sano notes:

> . . . the Japanese will be induced to discard their historical heritage only when it is absolutely necessary for survival, for they are the people noted for setting store by anything that bears the mark of age. At the same time, they are not without an intense curiosity for the new. Their propensity for experimentation . . . has repeatedly saved their culture from stagnation in spite of their strong attachment to their past.[8]

[7] Chiyeko Sano. *Changing Values of the Japanese Family.* Dissertation. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1958.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Curriculum Bulletins

Column Editor: Marcella R. Lawler
Professor of Education
Department of Curriculum and Teaching
Teachers College Columbia University
New York 27, New York

NOTE: The following faculty members of Teachers College, Columbia University, assisted in the preparation of this column by evaluating the material in their areas of specialization: Alice Miel, Department of Curriculum and Teaching; Harold McNally, Department of Educational Administration; Ruth Strang and Esther Lloyd-Jones, Department of Guidance and Student Personnel Administration.

• Englewood Public Schools. *Curriculum Guide for Elementary Grades.* Englewood, Colorado: the Schools, 1956. 65 p.

Seven separate volumes, originally published as *The Plan of Elementary Education for Englewood Public Schools,* have been combined into *Guide for Elementary Grades.* This guide provides freedom within which both teachers and students may work and learn.

Introductory sections that are fresh and succinct locate Englewood in Colorado of the United States of America and of the World and then ask, "What Do We Want Our Children to Think and Do?" and "How Do Children Learn?" These statements on philosophy and on learning are followed by a section "Differentiation But Not Limitation" in which the teacher is helped further in his understanding of his responsibilities in working with both slow and fast learners. Done in 1956, this brief statement is a good example of the attention educators have been trying to give to the differences among learners. It provides a few simple guidelines for (a) work with all children, (b) work with the slow learner, (c) work with the fast learner.

The discussion of program for each grade is followed by a section, "The Use of Time in the Elementary School," in which the importance of planned scheduling is discussed with the need pointed out for flexibility within the scheduling.

Throughout the bulletin references are made to research studies and materials which will help teachers to understand bases for making decisions in the areas being discussed.

• Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. *How Good Is Your Program? A Guide to Elementary School Evaluation.* Educational Leadership Series, No. 1. Department of Public Instruction. Harrisburg; Pennsylvania: the Department, 1957. 12 p.

This helpful little pamphlet is not itself an evaluative instrument, or a set of criteria. It was developed cooperatively by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction and the Elementary School Principals' section of the Pennsylvania State Education Association to

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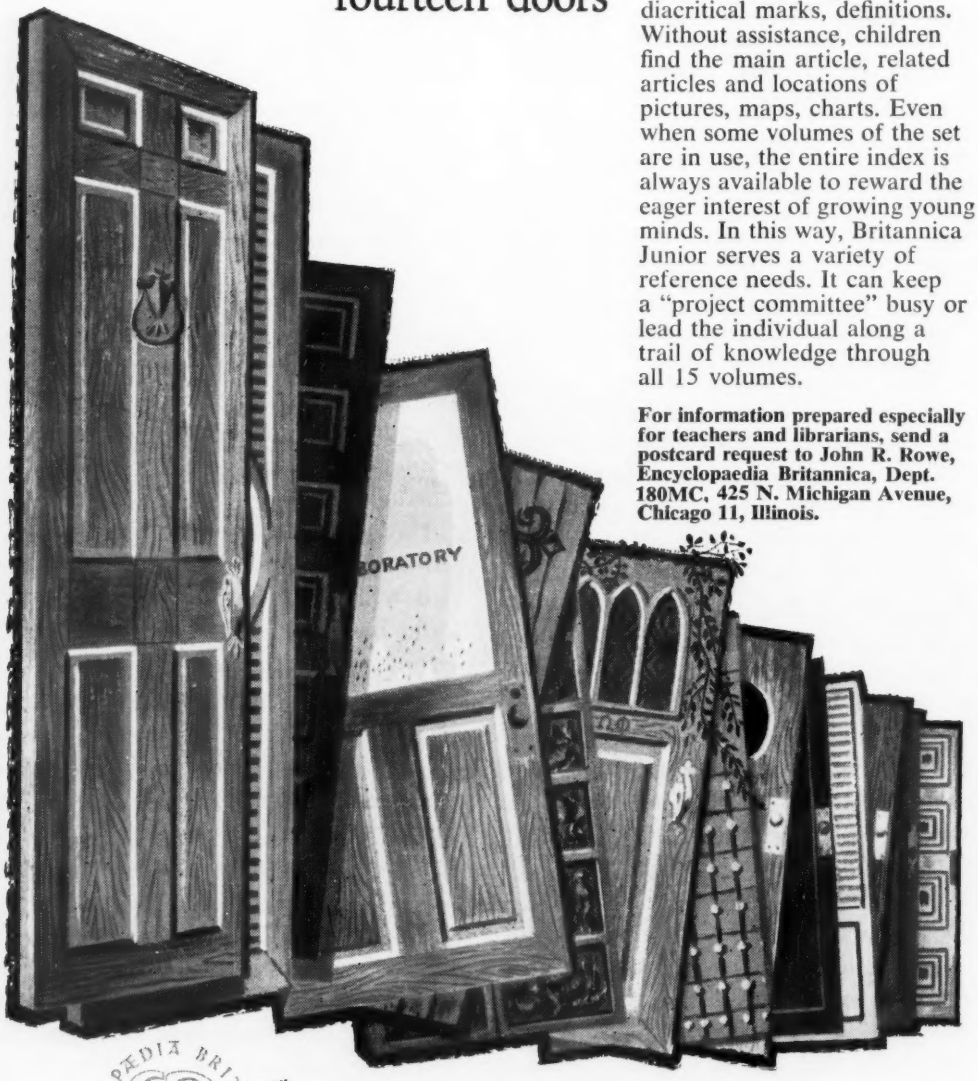

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While this is by no means a comprehensive treatment of the problem (for such treatment see Harold G. Shane and E. T. McSwain, *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum*), the pamphlet is full of concise suggestions for any who are embarking on an evaluation of their elementary school program.

• Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. *An Administrator's Guide to Reading.* Educational Leadership Series, No. 2. Department of Public Instruction. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: the Department, 1958. 13 p.

Because reading is no longer regarded as a simple mechanical process which can be learned completely and for all purposes in the elementary school, the State Council of Education in Pennsylvania noted in February of 1958 that a "planned program of instruction in reading skills shall be provided for all pupils in grades seven and eight, either remedial or developmental, in connection with English or as a separate subject." The council encourages school staffs to extend this program through senior high.

Ready June 1959

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By JEANETTE VEATCH, University of Illinois. Emphasizes the ways of managing a classroom during a reading period. The book describes, explains, and supports an individualized reading program, and presents examples of individualized reading in action.

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This guide then is basically for administrators charged with the responsibility for setting up this program, required after September 1959. Attention is given to administrative concerns such as the number of required periods and then moves on to questions relevant to such problems as getting the program started, teacher education, and grouping.

• Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. *Why Don't They Cooperate? They Want to Learn.* No. 1. *I Told Him My Problem; The Administrator Works There, Too.* No. 2. *Listen To My Side; How Teen-Agers Feel About Teachers.* No. 3. Guidance Series for Teachers, *Just Let Me Teach!* Department of Public Instruction. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: the Department. No. 1, March 1958. 15 p.; No. 2, June 1958, 19 p.; No. 3, August 1958, 15 p.

The purpose of this series, as stated in the first pamphlet is probably the most thoughtful review the series might have. A few brief excerpts from that statement are therefore presented here.

Teachers often express their desire to be able "just to teach"; to be free of the many interruptions, conflicts, and pressures which make life in a modern school a somewhat vigorous experience. If teachers are to achieve this freedom "to teach," it is possible that teachers and their co-workers need to re-consider the role and activities of the teacher in his daily job. "Being left alone" may not render one "free" to do a better job of teaching. Teachers may be asking not to be allowed to go into the classroom and close the door, but to be assisted in the process of learning how to open the door to an understanding of the forces in our complex culture which operate on teachers and on children.

The writers go on to say that it is as teachers develop confidence that they are teaching effectively that they are "free" to teach and that what children

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By **J. Murray Lee** and **Dorris May Lee.** This text presents a unique and wholly consistent approach to the development of the individual in all his aspects, with particular emphasis on the school age child from six to eighteen. It relates the principles of physiology and psychology of human development to the classroom situation. Practical applications for teaching are emphasized throughout the text. **624 pages, illus., $6.00**

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"get" in the classroom is affected by what they and the teacher bring to the classroom in attitudes, skills, abilities and potentialities.

The first section explores the question, "Why Don't They Cooperate?" Section Two, "Ask Yourself Questions," presents several case studies of the kinds of problems confronting teachers daily and offers important questions which imply possible action. Teachers were invited to examine these case studies and in Section Three, "They Want to Learn," eight important ways teachers believe learning might have been facilitated are discussed.

I Told Him My Problem, The Administrator Works Here, Too, Number 2 in the series, gives case studies which present various kinds of problems that often arise in schools. There is the situation in which teachers engaged in experimentation with a university are blocked because the 20-dollar budget request for tests was not handled properly; the problem of a teacher's receiving confidences relative to another teacher's work with children and not knowing what to do with the information; the case of a boy receiving help in a mental health clinic showing marked improvement and talent—in one class, but being suspended from school for conduct in a second class. Following each case study is a series of important questions to consider in relation to each situation.

"Listen to My Side," How Teen-Agers Feel About Teachers, Number 3. Again case studies are used to show pupils in action, to reveal feelings sometimes held by students, and to suggest behavior teachers often exhibit which helps students to progress or hinders them. There are four sections in this bulletin, "Listen to My Side," "Do Pupils Look at the Teachers' Side," "Have You Listened to All Sides?" and "Do We Respect Each Other's Feelings?"

• State Department of Education. *Teaching in Florida Elementary Schools.* Bulletin Number Forty-seven. Tallahassee, Florida: the Department, 1958. 130 p.

Prepared as a general overview of the elementary program in the State of Florida, this guide, a revision of *A Guide to Teaching in the Primary Grades* and *A Guide to Teaching in the Intermediate Grades*, will be especially useful to the new elementary teacher, to the experienced teacher from other states and to those working outside their areas of specialization.

A brief introduction includes one section on definition of terms relative to school organization and administration in the state and a second section on philosophy and use of experience charts, workbooks, homework and a materials center. The remaining material is divided into two parts.

Part One, "Planning an Effective Program," includes chapters dealing with "Basic Understandings for the Teacher," "The School and Classroom Setting," "The Daily Schedule," and "Teacher-Pupil Planning." This material not only acquaints the teacher with the philosophy of the system relative to the area, but also presents various aspects of the area and develops a certain type of understanding relative to procedures for approaching work in it. For example, the section on "Individual Teacher Planning" reads:

In addition to planning with other faculty members, each teacher will need to consider the scope of the whole year's work for his class, separate this work into large time blocks of several weeks, and weigh the

relative importance of topics before undertaking day-by-day plans. He will consider the resources and needs of the community and the children in his class. He will find health, attendance, and accumulative records helpful in revealing the needs and interests of children and will do his part to keep such records accurate and up to date. He will need to set aside some portion of the day, before or after pupils are present, for preparing the next day's work, when he can assemble pictures and other teaching aids, prepare or select practice materials suitable to his group and consult manuals, curriculum guides, and other professional materials.

Learning in Afghanistan

(Continued from page 436)

herding practices, to hand crafts, and to Afghan history and literature. The emphasis is on developing an understanding of and pride in the Afghan cultural heritage.

As rapidly as possible facilities for secondary education for men and women will be increased and improved. Foreign teachers are being gradually replaced with qualified Afghans. Agricultural and technological high schools are being opened and, recently, a faculty of agriculture and technology has been established in the University of Kabul. As in most countries the Ministry of Education faces the problem of making vocational education respectable and having it accepted as a desirable alternative to a purely academic course of study.

More and more attention is being directed toward providing higher education at home. An impressive University Center is being developed. Formerly the University of Kabul consisted of five faculties—literature, science, law, medicine, and religion—located in separate parts of the city and held together in a loosely organized fashion by a University Council of chancellor and deans. Recent developments show a strengthened administration. The addition of the faculty of technology and the faculty of education will greatly improve the University's service to the country.

In carrying out this ambitious plan Afghanistan faces a number of problems. Financial resources are limited and will offer obstacles to rapid expansion. Obtaining an adequate number of teachers qualified to bring about the necessary curriculum changes is probably the most serious problem. For many years a single teacher preparing institution of secondary school level located in Kabul has supplied most of the teachers for the primary schools and the seventh and eighth grades and occasionally for higher grades of the secondary schools. The faculties of literature and science of the University have supplied most teachers for secondary schools from their limited number of graduates. Work is under way at the present time to establish two other teacher preparing institutions. These will also be on the secondary school level. The new Institute of Education of the University will in addition to preparing teachers assist in the in-service education of teachers already employed in the schools.

The Ministry of Education faces an additional problem of attracting able people to the teaching profession. Afghan teachers are poorly paid. The average teacher makes the equivalent of 12 to 15 American dollars a month. Most teachers must work at several jobs in order to live. Teaching in Afghanistan does not carry with it unusual social prestige as compensation for the low rate of pay. In spite of this condition, however, one finds throughout Afghanistan dedicated teachers who work long hours and who continually seek to find ways to improve their teaching.

Curriculum Research

Column Editor: Alexander Frazier
Contributor: Marvin D. English

Use of Color in Instructional Materials

RESEARCH evolves through a relationship which exists among people, ideas, and money. These three elements interacting in the proper environment produce energy. Action research is based on the energies of persons who are concerned with the outcomes of such research.

Anyone who has served on a curriculum committee to select instructional materials will testify to the fact that the controversies which arise seem numberless. One issue concerns the use of color. Many conclusions reached in the past have been subject to one weakness: their only basis was opinion. Good opinions are valuable, but something more substantial on which to base preference is generally welcomed.

While research studies in this area reveal some answers, the researchers themselves have called for additional studies. The writer, after studying such proposals, became interested in the study of color influences on pupil achievement. Colleagues were interested in this problem, a known school environment in which to conduct a research program was available, but how does one find funds to support such an endeavor?

A conference was arranged with Walter A. Wittich, professor of audio-visual instruction at the University of Wisconsin. What may be accomplished in this research is due, in a very large part, to the advising assistance rendered by Professor Wittich and the financial assistance of the McCormick-Mathers Publishing Company.

A series of conferences was scheduled. The possible types of research design were explored. The other various mechanical problems of a research program were discussed and the following program was put into action.

Color or Black and White?

The general question asked by the research study was stated as a null-hypothesis: "There is no significant difference in the acquisition of learning when children are influenced by colored as opposed to black and white instructional materials." The role of the null-hypothesis is a very simple one. The learning achievements of the students using colored materials are pitted against the learning achievements of the students using black and white materials, If no difference in scores is revealed, then the two media are equally effective. If, however, a difference does exist, then one or the other medium must be more favorable.

The research design employed was an extended Latin square. This means that one group used the colored materials while the other used the black and white

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materials and they exchanged media on each successive unit. Six experimental instructional units were constructed. Thus, each pupil studied three colored units and three black and white units.

The units were paired, whenever possible, so that each pupil could be tested on both colored and black and white materials in each topic area. For example, units one and two in fifth grade science both dealt with simple machines. Thus, each pupil studied one unit in color and another in black and white, both units dealing with the same topic. By its rotating design, the Latin square technique yields a cancelling-out of individual differences because both the good and the bad elements in the groups involved contribute to the experimental (colored) materials and the control (black and white) materials on an alternating basis. Thus, the remaining variable is the one contributed by the style of the media.

The research was conducted at the McFarland Grade School, McFarland, near Madison, Wisconsin. The enrollment was 400, with thirteen teachers on the staff. The population of the school district was approximately 4100. Being near a large city, most of the employed were middle-low class industrial and sales personnel but 14 of the families operated full-time farms. This school was believed to represent adequately a "typical" Wisconsin grade school.

In an effort to be broad in coverage the study involved second, fifth and eighth grade classes. Changes which may evolve from maturation and scholastic growth could thus be uncovered. The two second grade classes totaled 43 pupils, the two fifth grade classes totaled 44 pupils, and the two sections of the eighth grade totaled 41 pupils. Each second and fifth grade class had its own teacher while both eighth grade sections were taught by the present writer. Thus, there were 128 pupils and five teachers involved in the project.

The research program involved two subject areas and two types of instructional materials. One of the areas employed what some writers refer to as the "realistic" use of color, science. In the other area, arithmetic, color was used for clarity or attention-getting. Textbooks were used in grades two and five, and sound films in grade eight.

Some of the science topics covered were: second grade—weather, the thermometer, the food we eat, winter coats and baby animals; fifth grade—simple machines, rocks and minerals and plants and animals; eighth grade—laws of motion, jet propulsion, how plants make seeds and classifications of animals. The arithmetic units dealt with combinations of numbers in the second grade; fundamental processes such as long division and decimals in the fifth grade; but funds could not be stretched to involve the eighth grade in this area.

Author style, format (type face, position of illustrations, etc.) and other characteristics of published materials influence greatly the effectiveness of instructional materials. An attempt was made to locate exemplary colored materials and then these were reproduced in black and white. In this way, the format was kept the same in every respect except the media of color or black and white.

The following value judgments were used as a guide in the selection of the instructional materials:

1. Only units usually taught by the teacher during the second semester were considered.
2. Color must be used effectively.
   a. Subjective appeal (to teachers)
   b. Enhancement of the text meanings

revised and renormed . . .

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c. Non-decorative
d. Clarity
e. Appropriateness.

A total of 135 texts and 18 films were considered during the evaluation. Each teacher was given two months to independently evaluate the materials and then mutual agreement was arrived at during group meetings.

When making the black and white reproductions, the films offered no problem, for the producers made available black and white editions. However, the textbooks caused some additional work. Illustrations in textbooks are generally in half-tones. This means that photographs of the printed materials will produce hazy, grayish prints. An artist employing pen and ink sharpened and clarified contrasts in the textbook illustrations thereby enabling clear photonegatives to be taken. From these the black and white editions were made.

Individual booklets were made for each instructional unit. This eliminated the refinement presented by bound editions. One set of booklets contained the published materials cut out of the textbooks and reassembled into the standard experimental booklet format and the other set contained the reproductions. This aided in reducing the possible stigma of "home-made" materials. Neither set of booklets had the hard-cover "appeal" of the commercial publications.

Among the efforts made to remove the noticeable experimental characteristics of the research program were these:

1. The curriculum coordinator in charge of the research taught for a full year in the school so that he could best become acquainted with the capabilities of the teachers to be involved, accustom the pupils to his presence, and establish close liaison with the principal.

2. Considerable time was spent discussing materials with the teachers so that each experimental instructional unit could be absorbed very easily into the on-going curriculum.

3. The instructional units selected for the experiment were those intended for second semester use. This allowed each teacher one full semester to become familiar with her class and vice versa.

4. Many types of objective tests were used during the first semester and on the basis of these trials the types of questions to be asked during the experimental program were selected. Thus, every pupil became familiar with the testing procedures.

Before each unit was taught, the concepts to be identified and stressed were mutually agreed upon by the teachers involved. Care was taken to make provision for the same laboratory demonstrations in both the experimental and control groups (this function alternated, of course). The teachers also constructed the examinations together so that no unfair or unstandardized measures were obtained.

Each successive experimental unit was taught simultaneously in each of the two classes on each grade level. This eliminated the differences which may arise from scheduling difficulties, climatic conditions, lunch hour anxieties, and other variables indigenous to the classroom. The individual techniques employed by each of the teachers, questions raised by the pupils and ensuing discussions, environmental aids and other factors which may be unique to the individual classroom were assumed to cancel out due to the cross-over design of the Latin square. (Those unique factors which aid the color units this week will aid the black and white unit next week.)

On the objective tests which were administered only questions pertaining to the contents of the experimental booklets were asked. There was no attempt to check on other incidental learning. The attempt was made to have a question for each significant (agreed upon by the participating teachers) item in the instructional unit.

The statistical method of treating the data was the t-test of significance. The data was all converted to standard T-scores before attempts were made to identify differences at either the .01 or .05 level of confidence.

The effect of color was summarized by taking the sum of all the T-scores of a given grade (both classes) which were the results of instructional units presented in color. The effect of black and white was summarized by doing likewise with that style of media. The significance was then computed by comparing the two "total" results.

Questions arose before and during the research program. It is hoped that our study will provide additional information or even answers for some of these questions. When a researcher is concerned with the acquisition of knowledge through the use of instructional materials employing the medium of color or black and white, the following are some of the queries that come to mind:

1. Is the acquisition of knowledge especially influenced by one style of media?
2. Is the learning environment enhanced by a particular medium?
3. Are certain types of illustrations more effective?
4. As children mature, is there any noticeable change in their use of illustrations?
5. Does the placement of the illustration have any significance?
6. What uses of color are most effective?
7. What uses of black and white are most effective?

8. Do certain colors have more significance to pupils than others?

9. Are pupils aware of the characteristics of the illustrations employed?

10. Does the proportional increment of achievement as determined by the media differ between I.Q. levels?

11. Are there attitudes which can be evaluated as to the pupil and teacher reactions to given styles of media?

12. Is there a difference between the interest in a learning situation and the actual acquisition of knowledge?

13. Do any styles of media stand out as being significantly harmful?

Because of the controversial nature of the statistical results of this research study, it is felt that supplementary double-checking would be wise in order to prepare for criticisms which may arise. Extreme care must be taken by any group doing research in an area which is so strongly dominated by personal experience and opinion. Therefore, several more months must be devoted to careful scrutiny of all the procedures, experimental and statistical, before the results are made public.

—Marvin D. English, *research assistant, University of Wisconsin, Madison.*

Comparative Education

(Continued from page 402)

realization that no one form of organization, no one set of philosophical premises, no one system of instructional practices, no one arrangement of subject matter really makes any school system good or guarantees any type of outstanding product. All school systems have graduated those individuals who can take their places with the worthiest of mankind; all have turned out miserable failures. The real worth of a school is to be measured by the spirit that pervades it and this spirit depends in large part on the individuals who serve it. The value of stimulating the creativity and purpose of the individual is sharply focused in a recent excellent evaluation of American schools:

> Much of our present-day social achievement is manifested by group effort. It is our ability to marshal and unite the skills and abilities of thousands of individuals that makes possible the achievements of modern technology. It is a condition of modern society that we spend our lives in an atmosphere of collaborative effort.
>
> But while the strength of cooperative effort is impressive, there is danger that we may misunderstand the true source of that strength. The danger is that we may forget the individual behind a façade of huge and impersonal institutions. The risk is that we will glorify science and forget the scientists; magnify government and ignore the men and women who discharge its functions; pin our hopes on education, business or cultural institutions, and lose sight of the fact that these institutions are no more creative or purposeful than the individuals who endow them with creativity and purpose.[4]

Finally, a study of comparative education brings home to teachers everywhere that they are an important part of a global endeavor whose aspirations and problems have everywhere much that is common, despite the many outward differences. They realize anew, particularly for their profession, the truth of the words of the wise Confucius, "All within the four seas are brothers."

[4] Rockefeller Brothers Fund. *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America.* New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958. p. ix.

Significant Books in Review

Column Editor: Howard B. Leavitt
Contributors: Ralph Garry,
Gene Phillips, Calvin W. Deam

What Education Has to Learn from Psychology. *By Percival M. Symonds.* *New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959. 74 p.*

The monograph contains six articles originally appearing separately in issues of the *Teachers College Record* between 1955 and 1958. Choosing the topics of motivation, reward, punishment, learning is reacting, whole versus part learning, emotion and learning, Symonds briefly reviews some of the basic research on each topic, identifies the generalizations that can be made, and discusses their implications for education. His purpose arises from his conviction that unless teachers understand some of the principles of psychology having educational application they are unlikely to be more than tinkerers or mechanics operating by rule of thumb methods in the classroom.

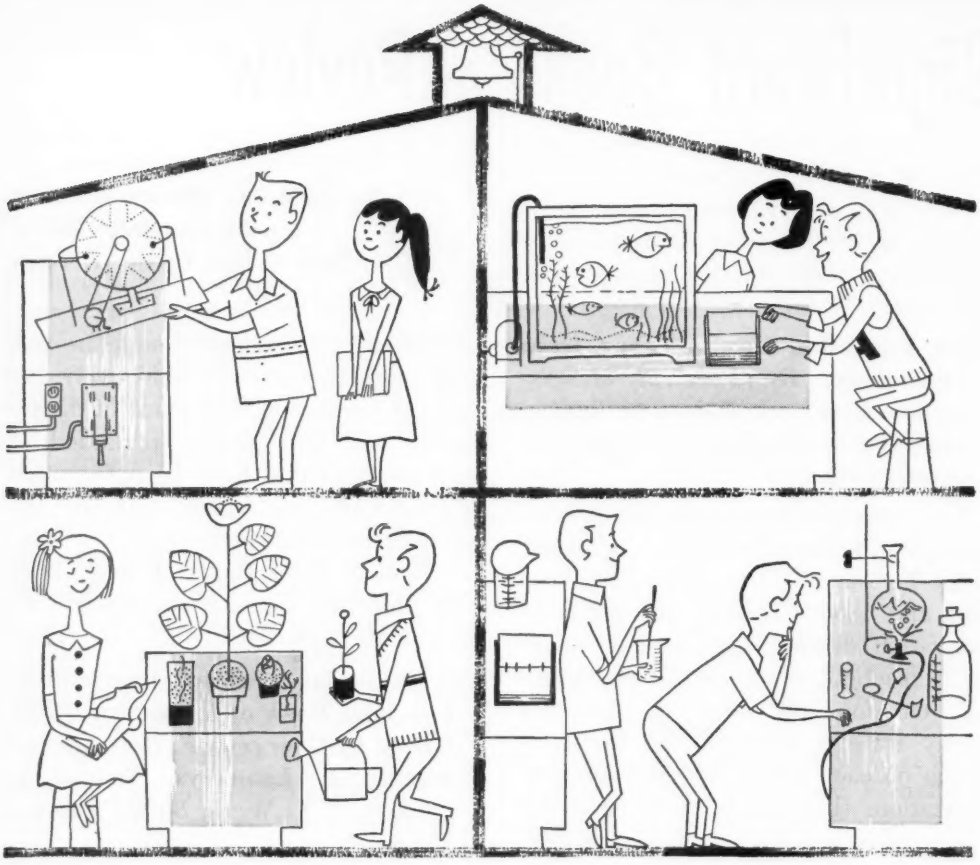
At the risk of doing an injustice to the entire monograph the implications cited are in the main for education rather than for educational practice. Hence the practitioner may be disappointed as the reviewer was when he arrives at the end of each article looking expectantly for the more specific application. But if one is willing to pause, speculate upon one's practices, evaluate possible relationships between Symonds' conclusions and educational practice, the monograph will prove rewarding. Even the specialist in educational psychology, though he will read more quickly and selectively because of familiarity with much of the research, will find himself reminded of considerations that have been forgotten or overlooked, and speculating on various questions that are raised.

—*Reviewed by* Ralph Garry, *associate professor of education, Boston University, Massachusetts.*

The Secondary School Curriculum, *The Year Book of Education, 1958. Edited by George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys.* *Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company. 554 p.*

The two recent pronouncements on the nature of the secondary school curriculum by Conant and Rickover might well be appraised in relation to statements made by professional educators from all parts of the world. The *1958 Year Book of Education* provides us this needed perspective. It even discusses many of the positive forces operating for education's advance in the United States, forces not often recognized by those outside professional education.

Important and expanded views of the workings of secondary education in this country constitute a sizable portion of the book, along with accounts from England, Holland, Ghana, Ceylon, Philippines, Italy, Russia, New China, Israel, Germany, Canada, France, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, Brazil, South Africa, and Ja-



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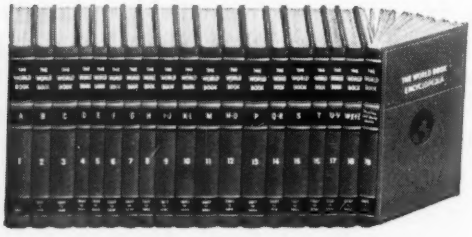

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pan. Such a listing indicates the cosmopolitan context of the discussion of various secondary school curricula about the world. The richness of the material can be shown by the kinds of questions the *Year Book* raises and, in some cases, attempts to answer.

What is an appropriate content for secondary education? What are the foundations of curriculum development in the U. S. and elsewhere? Why is there such worship for the education of the past? How can schools effect higher moral training? What is the importance of mental and physical health in curriculum development? Who decides the content of the curriculum in the U. S. A.? Problems of nationalism, social change and the curriculum, teacher education, nationalism *versus* internationalism, impacts of new media in education, military education, technological education, social and cultural determinants in curriculum construction, influence of social and psychological research and theories upon curriculum development, and experimentation in schools in attempting to create a better design for education receive careful attention. In sum, the questions and problems center on tradition and the curriculum, stated aims and objectives, the curriculum in the educational pattern, the influence of social circumstances, and theories of education and curriculum reform.

In providing for such inclusiveness, there could be a possibility of inconsistent effort and quality among its many authors; however, this particular edition enjoys a qualitatively high standard of excellence throughout; style, clarity, consistency of purpose and well-above-average theme continuity.

The points of view extending the ideas of progressivist philosophy were to a large degree absent. The newer ideas of culture-oriented curricula could well have been included, and the proposals for change or new directions in the secondary school curriculum were modest. Since the treatise devoted itself to the implementation of the aims set forth in the *1957 Year Book, Education and Philosophy,* this volume might well have taken into account recent thinking on the dynamics of change as a process and a theory.

An improved understanding of the aims, nature and content of the secondary school about the world will surely be advanced as a result of this cooperative effort.

—Reviewed by GENE PHILLIPS, *associate professor of education, Boston University, Massachusetts.*

Building Better Programs in Citizenship: A Guide for Teachers, Administrators, and College Instructors. *By William S. Vincent and others. Citizenship Education Project.* *New York: the Project, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1958. 309 p.*

Laboratory Practices in Citizenship: Learning Experiences in the Community. *Citizenship Education Project.* *New York: the Project, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1958. 312 p.*

During the contemporary debate over educational policy, proponents of "intellectualism" and "discipline" have captured the headlines. Too frequently form rather than substance has been emphasized, and over-simple solutions have been advanced for complex problems. Two volumes summarizing the work of the Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, should serve as a countervailing force to the ideas that have been so readily accepted by a segment of the general public. Also, needed reassur-

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ance will be given to those who desire to improve the program of general education for youth enrolled in the American secondary school.

In a world in which conflicting ideologies are competing for the minds of men, it is imperative that citizens of a democratic society fully and completely understand the premises upon which their way of life is founded. Unfortunately, the concepts of human freedom and liberty are considered to be abstractions, soothing to the ears, but somewhat impractical and devoid of meaning in daily affairs by far too many citizens. *Building Better Programs in Citizenship* develops a plan whereby youth can discern the relationship between democratic principles and human action and, at the same time, learn and practice the skills of civic action in the numerous communities in which they live, international as well as local.

The means by which youth can develop the necessary insight into the relationships among knowledge, premises or values, and civic behavior is the laboratory practice. It affords youth the opportunity to learn by doing—by applying generalized knowledge to problem situations in the community. Therefore, if a class were examining the topic of conservation, it would be expected to relate knowledge acquired in the classroom to specific, local problems involving conservation and subsequently to take action regarding them. Involved in the process are research, knowledge, premises, skills and participation in civic affairs. The laboratory practice becomes an instrument for vitalizing and giving meaning to many of the abstract concepts contained in textual materials.

Laboratory Practices in Citizenship is a revision of the former Brown Box containing practices tried out by 10,000 teachers throughout the nation. It serves as a valuable reservoir of ideas for classroom teachers, although some are open to question. Suggestions are made for the implementation of each practice and specific instructions are spelled out. Unfortunately, the relationships among participatory activities, premises, and collateral reading are not made nearly as explicit as they were in the earlier edition. This lack of integration diminishes the effectiveness of the practices given.

Educators who are interested in emphasizing the citizenship function of general education will find much of value in the volumes. American youth must develop an understanding of and a commitment to the premises of American liberty and must be willing to govern their civic behavior accordingly. Perhaps the most serious defect of the project is its failure to treat adequately the nature and the psychological dynamics of the learner himself.

—*Reviewed by* CALVIN W. DEAM, *assistant professor of education, Boston University, Massachusetts.*

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